SELECTED WORKS OF
YAO WENYUAN

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Comrade Yao Wenyuan (1931–2005)
Zhào zhǔxí de zhǐshì bàn!
("Do as the Chairman instructed."—Yao Wenyuan, 1975)

Workers of the world, unite!

EDITORIAL REMARKS

We have endeavored here to give Yao Wenyuan back the voice which was stripped from him when the capitalist reformers, led by Hua Guofeng and Deng Xiaoping, usurped power and imprisoned the Gang of Four. The treatment of the four loyalists to Mao Zedong's theory and line was horrific (particularly that of Wang Hongwen). They gave their lives for the proletarian revolution and were committed, and they paid the ultimate price for it. Like Wang Hongwen, and the others, Yao Wenyuan endured horrible torture and withholding, and it was under these horrific conditions of the capitalist-roaders, that he under pure duress "admitted" to "crimes." This was not a failure of revolutionary fervor, but the breaking of a human body, which is something which many a martyr for the cause has endured.[1] If the revolutionaries who were holding fast in China did not denounce Yao, but instead, defended him in the face of the torture, then we beyond can do the same. Yao Wenyuan, Wang Hongwen, Jiang Qing, and Zhang Chunqiao were all heroes and their contributions to the revolutionary struggle of the Proletariat must be remembered!

This work collects for the first time Yao Wenyuan's known English language writings together in one place. This is, of course, a selected works in that we here at Red Justice Press cannot competently translate Chinese works and therefore would not be able to produce a more comprehensive volume with what are doubtless Yao's numerous other writings, still obscured.

Despite this, we have uncovered some that seem to have been lost up to this point and so will provide the most comprehensive overview that we can of Yao's *English* writings. Lacking a Chinese translator, we must confess that the vast majority of Yao's writings remain inaccessible to us.

Documents here were primarily gathered from *Chinese Literature* and the *Peking* [*Beijing*] *Review*, two periodicals published for English audiences, and then also volumes by the Beijing Foreign

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[1] Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist), "Shanghai Revolutionaries of Capitalism in China," *A World to Win* 14 (1989): 38.

Languages Press bearing Yao's name. We also searched other volumes and works to provide a few other snippets that we could from his known speeches and interactions with other Chinese leaders.

We have done only minimal editing to make these works appear more appropriate for this updated volume. However, the content of these works has not been affected (only minor spelling or punctuation changes).

For clarity to the reader, we are also aware that one of Yao Wenyuan's books was translated and serialized in the periodical *Current Background* (Hong Kong). However, only portions of this translation are available to us at present. We have opted to not include those portions and wait until we can recover the full book at which point a second edition of this will be published including the whole of Yao Wenyuan's work.

As a note, we have generally maintained the older transliteration of Chinese names and terms, due to the amount of time it would require to update them for present transcription standards. With this in mind, save for a few well-known names (e.g., Mao Zedong instead of Mao Tse-tung) we have maintained these older transcriptions.

Long live the Revolution!
Long live Marxism-Leninism-Maoism!

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SELECTED WORKS OF YAO WENYUAN

DISPROVE THE "COMMUNISM BREEDS LAZINESS THEORY" (1958)

From: *Wen Hui Bao* (23 Oct. 1958)

Some capitalists and bourgeois intellectuals are worried that Communism will breed laziness. In the eyes of conscious working people, this is a baseless anxiety and is not worth argument; but persons, in whose minds there is still soil for growing individualism, are very interested in this theory, and, judging others by themselves, think that others will become lazy in the future Communist society. They say: "To like ease and dislike labor is human nature"; "One's desires are unlimited, and for each to get his needs will throw everything into confusion"; "A hard-working man needs some incentives like fame, position, grade, etc. If all such are gone, who will work hard?" Arguments run endlessly along these lines. It is necessary for us to discuss the question seriously.

Persons who think a Communist society will breed lazy-bones always regard laziness as a common nature of mankind having nothing to do with social conditions. They seem to think that to dislike labor is an inborn disposition of man, that it is only because of his desire to eat better and dress better or to seek fame and profit that he is compelled to work, and that he will be lazy when such incentives are gone. They think in these terms and believe others, think in the same way. It does not occur to them that it is precisely this idea in their minds that Communism will transform. "You cannot talk to summer insects about the ice." Without changing this attitude of exploiting classes toward labor, one can understand absolutely nothing about Communism. Conscious workers and peasants are never worried about the question of lazy-bones because ideas of "like ease and dislike labor" and "pay remuneration according to labor" never enter their minds. Judging others by themselves, they naturally feel that in a Communist society each and all will take "one for all and all for one" as a criterion of their life.

To those who advocate the theory that "Communism will breed laziness," we will openly and frankly say that laziness cannot be regarded as an above-class common human nature" or "weakness of human character" any more than Ah Q's "method of spiritual victory" can be regarded as a "weakness of human character." Laziness is a sort of living habit of the exploiting class and its intellectuals not engaged in productive labor, and the lazy habit among a small number of working people is formed under the impact of the idea of an exploiting class which dislikes labor. Do you say Communism will breed laziness? Probably you admire the practice of obtaining something without labor! One gentleman describes with the following words the Communist society in his imagination: "In a Communist society, each and all will lead a capitalist life, working half an hour a day and spending the remaining hours as they like, fishing, smoking, resting on a sofa, drinking tea, taking cakes... as happy as spirits. It is a paradise in the world." This is to represent the Communist society as a society of lazy-bones. If each and all lead a capitalist life in the Communist society, we can let others be capitalists and why would we need to eliminate the exploiting class and its ideological influence and realize Communism, and why would we need to inculcate integration of education with productive labor? Yes, the future standard of material life will top that of capitalists, but the bourgeois hedonist mode of life will never appear, and hard-working and simple living habits will be regarded as a virtue. The high material standards of Communism will never be separated from a high degree of conscious labor. The higher the standard of material life, the more Communist-minded laborers will be conscious of the happiness of working more for all and of the shamefulness of seeking only enjoyment. To talk of Communism apart from Communist labor shows a complete ignorance of the substance of a Communist society and of the essence a happy life. To imagine the Communist society as anarchy is a fantasy permeated with individualism. In Communist society, democratic centralism will continually be enforced. Democratic centralism is a Communist method for correctly handling the relations between individuals and collective bodies, between the part and the whole, and

between discipline and freedom. Some people want to distort Communism according to their individualist desires and by representing it as anarchy—free of organization, leadership, and centralism. We must watch them.

Let us return to the question of "lazy-bones." The transformation of monkeys (apes in scientific terms) into men was due to labor. Why does a man have two hands? For counting money, or for taking "a cup of strong tea" to the sofa? In the age of apes, probably there was no money or strong tea; thus, the gradual formation of two hands came from labor and served to perform labor. "Hands are not only organs of labor but a product of labor." If our ancestors were lazy-bones, probably there would be no offspring like us. Therefore, labor is a primary and most fundamental characteristic of mankind as distinct from other animals, as well as a fundamental condition for developing mankind in other respects. All men should perform labor and should use both hands to do it. In the era of primitive communes free of exploitation, private property, and distinction between mental labor and physical labor, men had no conception of "laziness." Men living in primitive communes "went to work at day-break, rested after the sun set, dug wells to get water, tilled the land to get food," knowing nothing about laziness. Since there were none who did [not] work, it is very obvious that there could be no lazy-bones who were fond of "laziness" in practical life. With the emergence of exploiting classes and the distinction between exploitation and labor, lazy-bones and laziness as a social phenomenon appeared, and images of lazy-bones were ridiculed in folk stories. Laziness on the part of a small number of working people comes precisely from the parasites of the exploiting class who obtain things without labor.

The Chinese people are an industrious and courageous nation. With their bare hands they opened the national territory of China and made their history. In a feudal society, the laziest were landlords and big merchants: this point was admitted even by intelligent persons of the feudal class. "Men did not plow land, women did not weave, only elegant clothes were worn and only the best food was taken;" such was the life of the rich. Were not they the laziest in the world? Were

not those young gentlemen "who had their clothes scented, faces shaven and powdered, who rode on elaborate carts and wore high-heeled shoes... moving about as leisurely as fairies..." too lazy to read even the Four Books and Five Canons regarded as "classics" by the feudal class, and so lazy as to ask others to write poems on their behalf? A number of emperors wore the premier lazy-bones in the world. They were so lazy as to be absent in their early court sessions, getting up late, as the spring night was too short," leading a lewd and shameless life day and night. Some "intelligent" persons formed the habit of laziness and resorted to laziness in their opposition to the rulers. Wine and laziness often went together. Even Zhuge Liang was not free from self-indulgence while living in his Lungchung retreat. "Bowed down he exhausted his energy in the public service"—that was after he became Liu Pei's military adviser. In creating *Oblomov*, Russia's Goncharov gave a comprehensive and concentrated expression to the laziness of landlord class: he is so lazy that he will not think of getting up from his bed. Are there not numerous facts and instances to show that "like ease and dislike labor" is a character of the exploiting class, and by no means the so-called "common nature of mankind?" And laziness mainly comes from a life of exploitation—separation from labor and acquisition of things without labor. This is true of the landlord class as well as the bourgeoisie. Capitalists live in find buildings and, when they are lazy, might lie on their sofas counting their money. The so-called "free" life advocated by the same bourgeois intellectuals is actually a sort of lazy life. Then always look forward to a life which is not to "tense." They do not want collectivization or combat action. They want to set aside some time in which they can remain "idle" and comfortable. Lying on the bed, yawning, reciting Tang poems, "feeling happy as a fairy," shutting one's self off from the life of the working people... Thus, the complete elimination of the exploiting class and the idea of exploitation, the gradual elimination of the distinction between mental labor and physical labor and the realization of Communism are precisely intended to eliminate lazy-bones as a social phenomenon. How can it

be said that Communist will breed laziness? How absurd it is to confound black and white!

It can definitely be said that it will take a fairly long time to raise the Communist consciousness of all the people greatly and that the Party will have to do hard political and ideological work, and will certainly raise Communist consciousness to a great extent. Within the ranks of the people, a transformation will take place deliberately arid ideas of belittling labor will be changed through labor and criticism. In this process, a few persons imbued with ideas of laziness will fundamentally change their attitude toward life and their thoughts will certainly change either quickly or slowly along with the change in their mode of life. Counter-revolutionaries, murderers, thieves, swindlers, and hoodlums, as well as other undesirable characters will be compelled to reform themselves through labor. Those who will not "work according to their ability" will not be permitted by the people to "get things according to their needs."

It may be envisaged that after a number of years all people of China will be transformed into new men of Communism and that there will not be a single one who does not work. Persons brought up in such a society will take part in productive labor from childhood. They will form a living habit of labor and study in the same way as they form a habit of eating. Labor and study will become the prime wants of life. They will be uncomfortable if they do not work in the same way as they will be hungry if they do not take food. They will undergo Communist education from their childhood and consciously and selflessly perform labor for society. They will know nothing about "fame, position" and private property, and nothing about "lazy-bones." Just as they will see rats only in a museum, they will see the images of lazy-bones only in books. Their "desire" is to perform creative labor, and their greatest happiness lies in creating new wealth for mankind so that others can acquire greater happiness, will not lazy-bones be completely eliminated In this circumstance? Kang Youwei is also afraid that Communism will breed laziness. In his *Da Tong Shu* (*Book on Utopia*) he imagines "four taboos," the "first taboo is laziness." He has no idea that men of that era will be Communist-

minded and not individualists. Nor does he understand the theory that social being determines one's social consciousness. After all he is a Utopian socialist, not understanding the necessity for the genesis and elimination of laziness as a social phenomenon.

Of course, we are not Utopians In the belief that in a Communist society all kinds of contradictions do not exist. In a Communist society, there will also be contradictions between the advanced and the backward, and there will be persons who perform labor well and persons who perform labor not so well; there will still be ideological struggles and evolution. However, in collective life the situation is that no backward persons may be "lazy-bones." Collective strength and ideological and moral strength will be so great that the backward will soon be compelled to make progress. In the play "Brother and Sister Open Up Waste Land," sister sings: "You young and strong man, how can you lie in bed like a lazy worm?" Brother instantly takes up his hoe and goes to the field. This was a scene witnessed in the New Democratic society, which is not to be compared with a Communist society. It follows that laziness as a social phenomenon will definitely be eliminated in a Communist society.

Thus, "laziness," which comes from private property will completely disappear with the disappearance of private property. As things stand at the moment, the attitude toward conscious and selfless labor as an aspect of the Communist spirit is rapidly growing up in the course of the Great Leap Forward. From this we can draw only one conclusion as stated by Comrade Liu Shaoqi: "Only when Communism is completely realized can laziness be completely eliminated." The conclusion is completely contrary to the "Communism breeds laziness" theory.

REVISIONIST IDEAS IN LITERATURE

From: *Chinese Literature*, no. 2 (1958): 108–16

The literature of a class expresses its inmost feelings and convictions. This is true not only of the proletariat but also of the bourgeoisie. Literary theory and writing invariably reflect different political and philosophical concepts with great sensitivity, and mirror the changes in class relationship and the trends of political thought of different classes. Whenever the bourgeoisie launches an attack against the working class, or struggles with it for political and ideological supremacy, this will find rapid expression in the realm of literature. The fact that the momentous clashes of ideas since China's liberation have often grown out of literary movements is a clear indication of the intense and protracted nature of the class struggle in literature. After the events in Hungary in 1956, revisionist thinking reared its head in China. Rightists among the bourgeoisie, which had already lost its economic basis, made use of every occasion on which we practiced self-criticism, to attack the proletariat. When in 1957 the whole Communist Party started its rectification campaign, they thought their chance had come and launched a general offensive against socialism, until the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals rose up to strike back and defeated them.

In literature, as was shown in the great debate on some fundamental literary principles which took place recently, revisionist ideas express themselves in many ways: in the denial that literature need be led by the Communist Party, in the repudiation of the fundamental principles of Marxist aesthetics, of the partisan nature of literature, of socialist realism, of the need for writers to be guided by a Marxist outlook, of the principle that literature is subservient to politics, and so on. Also, as we saw, such anti-Marxist views influenced the writings of this period, expressing themselves in a variety of ways.

Chairman Mao, in his speech *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*, pointed out emphatically: "The

revisionists, or rightist opportunists, pay lip-service to Marxism and also attack 'doctrinairism.' But the real target of their attack is actually the most fundamental elements of Marxism." When the class struggle during the socialist revolution is sharp, the bourgeois attacks on Marxism are concentrated on the most fundamental principles of socialism.

These fundamental principles mark the dividing line between the socialist and the bourgeois paths in literature. If we waver, abandon or "revise" these principles, we shall be removing the soul of Marxist literature and heading it down the bourgeois, anti-socialist path. This is why our criticism of revisionism in literature also centres round these basic issues.

Naturally, when we criticize revisionist ideas we should not exaggerate their influence or fail to bear in mind that Marxist ideas and good works of socialist realism are still the main current of our writing, and that we have achieved a great deal in literature while carrying out the principle to let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend. This would be over-estimating the strength of the bourgeoisie and underestimating that of the working class. At the same time, we must remember that things are liable to change. As Chairman Mao said: "Under specific conditions, a bad thing can lead to good results." We can learn by arguing with revisionism. Socialist literature cannot grow up in a hothouse. It will take a big step forward when we defeat the enemy in political and ideological struggles, refute the theories of the revisionists, and draw the necessary conclusions for our writing. For instance, the exposure of Ting Ling and Chen Chi-hsia's clique[2] did much to strengthen the solidarity of writers and artists and consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party.

Not long ago, starting with the stories and sketches of Liu Pin-yen, some of our writers began to advocate the "exposure of the seamy side of life." They put forward this theory from an anti-socialist standpoint, under the banner of "intervention in life," as if socialist society were something inimical to them, in which they must intervene as outsiders. They alleged that "there is a dark side to the socialist

[2] See *Chinese Literature* No. 1, 1958, p. 130.

system, and the main task of literature is to expose it. Only so can we intervene in life... To praise our achievements and our moral qualities is just covering up the truth." Then the rightists shouted even more recklessly: "Writers have always opposed the society of their time."

Here I will simply mention the cases of two well-known literary critics: Feng Hsueh-feng and Hsu Mao-yung. In the conference of the editors of literary magazines convened by the Chinese Writers' Union in December 1956, Feng in most insidious terms called upon writers to express "the suffering of the people," while Hsu urged them "not to be afraid of darkness" but to struggle for "democracy," and attack "bureaucrats" as enemies until they were "eliminated."

If we speak of the "seamy side" of socialist society, this implies first and foremost the destructive activities of the hidden counter-revolutionaries, rightists, hooligans, thieves and saboteurs among our class enemies, who are hostile to socialism; also the bourgeois ideas which are still firmly entrenched in the minds of certain people—the sunlight of socialism has not penetrated to their inner hearts. Literature should help us to do away with this "seamy side" to our lives. It should do so by taking a definite, partisan stand to show up the enemies of socialism, describing their dark deeds and their inevitable doom as socialism advances, and criticizing the selfish outlook of bourgeois individualists. Of course we should criticize bureaucracy too. We have always been in favour of using self-criticism to expose the shortcomings in our work. We do not believe that there are no conflicts in a socialist society. But bureaucracy is not a product of the socialist system, nor does it occupy the main or predominant position here. Therefore we cannot treat all who are guilty of bureaucratism in one way or another as enemies of the people or describe bureaucracy as omnipotent, as if in our society we are too crushed by bureaucracy to breathe. Such distortions of the truth are just what the rightists want. In our young, socialist country, resurgent as the rising sun, there is no legitimate place for bureaucracy. However rampant it may be at a certain place and time, it cannot persist indefinitely, but as a remnant of the old outlook and style of work will

always come under fire from the Party leadership and the people on their own initiative. The democratic centralism of the socialist system ensures that our people will be able to develop the maximum democracy and enterprise; we have, therefore, the social prerequisites for crushing bureaucracy. Even when certain bureaucrats in certain localities commit serious mistakes, these will be set right in the end. Anyone who has been willing to face the facts during the last eight years knows that bureaucracy in our. Country has been constantly attacked and overcome; and one of the chief targets in the rectification campaign led by the Party is bureaucracy. Yet those eager to "expose the seamy side" describe our society as if no democracy exists in it, saying: "If we want to enjoy democracy, we must wrest it from these bureaucrats." The fact is that their minds are filled with bourgeois conceptions of democracy. What they want is a sort of absolute democracy, devoid of centralism, with individualism as its core.

In support of such theories a certain amount of writing has appeared in the past year or so. It may be of use to examine a specimen here.

Let us take, for example, *The Inside Story of a Newspaper* by Liu Pin-yen, published in the June and October issues of *People's Literature* in 1956. The central message of this story is praise of individualism. From a collective, socialist point of view, this is clearly pernicious.

The whole newspaper office is wrapped in gloom. Bureaucracy and doctrinairism weigh heavily on everyone there. The chief editor, Chen, is a hidebound die-hard who reigns supreme in the office. He is a capricious autocrat who suppresses all rational constructive proposals. This caricature of an editor almost invariably vetoes two of the four pages edited by the section chief, Ma, and throws out three of his editorials for no good reason. However, this petty tyrant is described as devoted to his job, a man who carries out unswervingly the directives of the provincial Party committee.

The author implies that the fundamental reason for this killing of Ma's initiative, the "dogmatism" of the paper—all editorials and news items that have a partisan spirit or lay down the Party line are

called "dogmatic"—Chen's ruthlessness, self-confidence and so forth, is the leadership of the provincial Party committee and Chen's acceptance of that leadership. This is, of course, a major distortion of political actuality. We cannot say that there are no autocrats like Chen in responsible positions in China today, or deny that such bureaucrats should be criticized. That would not be true. But to ascribe such men's failings to Party directives is equally false. For Chen's fault is not that he has carried out the Party's directives, but that he has no mass line. Our Party leaders do not consider men like Chen as good Communists. In fact, if Chen really carries out the instructions of the provincial Party committee and works for the Party, then—like many others whom we meet constantly—even though he is a bureaucrat in his style of work he must have another side, that is, loyalty to the Party. To give a truthful picture of such a man from the working-class standpoint, the author should also depict this aspect of him. This Liu Pin-yen does not do, however. His own anti-Party viewpoint colours his caricature of this character. As he hates men who carry out Party directives, he portrays Chen as a man without any good qualities. He tries to put across the formula: Carrying out Party directives = bureaucracy = autocracy = dogmatism and Party jargon. Like all other rightists, he is here attacking not bureaucracy but Party leadership. In all works which attack bureaucracy from a standpoint hostile to the Party or ascribe bureaucracy to the leadership of the Party and the socialist system, however lively the characters appear, they are bound to be distorted and falsified. The only genuine thing about such writing is the author's hatred for the Party.

If Chen in this story is supposed to stand for a sort of dominant social force, Ma is shown as its victim. The son of a clerk, an intellectual with a petty-bourgeois background, Ma joins the Party before liberation, and later works in a municipal Party committee office as section chief in the propaganda department. There he gradually loses the militancy he has shown during the democratic revolution in former days, and all enthusiasm for his work.

There are such people in real life. They plunge into the democratic revolution with all the fervour of the petty bourgeoisie, but

after it is won they backslide. As there are not a few cases like this, it would be well worth-while to observe, study and analyse their inmost thoughts from a correct viewpoint, and draw vivid pictures of them. Work in a Party committee is not plain sailing for such individuals. The tranquil daily life they desire is destroyed by the sharp class struggle, and they have to advance or fall back. This is the serious problem with which they are faced. And now their real outlook is exposed: they are still essentially individualist. The serious contradictions which exist between the individualist outlook and life in all its complexity manifest themselves in various forms, in work, friendship, love or marriage... So these egoists gradually tire of Party principles and Party work. A writer can only give a truthful and typical picture of such characters if he describes their complex individualistic mental make-up and the clash between. Their individualism and a society which is advancing. But instead of doing this, Liu Pin-yen makes it appear as if life itself and Party work itself give Ma this feeling of disgust, as if the understanding of Party ideas and the laws of mass work make a man mechanical and listless. In order to attack the Party, in painting Ma's growing disillusionment he deliberately ignores the conflict between his individualism and revolutionary work, arbitrarily attributing Ma's pessimism to the Party's ideological work.

Liu Pin-yen stuffs Ma's head with his own "reformist" ideas. He feels that Ma should long for "a wider sphere," not in the heart of the struggle, with the people, fighting bureaucracy and becoming one with the masses, facing up to life in a positive way as one of the vanguard of the proletariat, but by seeking "freedom of individuality" and "freedom of thought," which completely abandons Marxism and all working-class ideas. In other words, whereas we of the left criticize the individualism and apathy of men like Ma from the standpoint of the working class, and want them to remould themselves by accepting the Party's education, Liu Pinyen finds fault with Ma because his individualism is not positive enough. He criticizes him from the right, from the standpoint of thoroughgoing bourgeois individualism and liberalism. He hopes such men will lose their apathy, come out in

active opposition to the Party, and discard Marxism completely. That is why he introduces into this story a "pioneer" like Chia-ying, who is superior to everyone else and to the Party. Singlehanded she opposes all such men as Chen, and wages a "heroic" struggle.

Chia-ying is depicted as a heroine and an advanced character, the ideal: fighter against bureaucracy. In actual fact, however, she is a glorified individualist who "opposes the society of her time." She has certain good qualities, such as enthusiasm and a capacity for hard work; but she looks down on the newspaper administration, and during her three years as a reporter consistently opposes Party leadership. To her, obeying the leadership or writing according to Party directives is a "nuisance" and a "pain." She is critical of the literature written after liberation, because she is not satisfied with post-liberation life. In particular she dislikes the new stress on discipline; and strongly resents it when Chen corrects her copy to suit the Party policy, for it is this policy which makes her "unhappy." She believes this is the main reason for the paper's dullness, and that all "reforms" must start here.

Today, when we have gained a decisive victory against the rightists, there is no need to explain in detail why the Party leadership and the people's demands accord. For a Party newspaper to rid itself of Party leadership would mean going over to the bourgeoisie, cutting itself off from the working people, and surrendering to the rightists. What we want to-point out here is that this girl, Chia-ying, is actually the personification of Liu Pin-yen's political ideas. Liu wants to see young intellectuals of this sort, individualists who have not accepted working-class ideas oppose the socialist system and Party leadership. Well aware of the deep contradictions between individualism and socialist ways of thinking, his tactics are to attack Chen, support Chia-ying, and encourage Ma to take Chia-ying's side. In other words, this story actually shows the basic tactics of the rightists against the Party.

Writing of this kind has two characteristics. It paints a very gloomy picture of our country by distorting our social and political life with its democratic centralism under the leadership of the Party, and exaggerates bureaucracy till it seems a dominant force which

crushes all that is new and growing. It also depicts those who oppose Party leadership as brilliant, self-reliant, thoroughgoing individualists. Their individualism shows itself in their scornful rejection of the collective strength and wisdom of the people, their trust of themselves alone, their utter antagonism to all organizational discipline, and therefore their direct opposition to Party leadership. From a historical viewpoint, we see how in a socialist society individualism reveals its reactionary nature more and more clearly as the society progresses. The attempt to glorify individualists in literature and to set them up against the Party shows the habit of mind and tactics of bourgeois rightists, who make use of the contradictions between individualism and socialism to oppose socialism. That is why we think it so important to combat bourgeois individualism.

There are three noteworthy features in the revisionist trend of modern literature. One is that revisionists try to pass themselves off as Marxists while claiming that all the basic principles of Marxism are "dogmatism," and considering the Marxist world outlook and partisan spirit as the cause for formulism and schematism in some of our contemporary writing. They attempt to refute Marxism under the slogans "Fight dogmatism!" and "Down with formulism!" They attempt to revise Marxism, and to "criticize" and refute socialism and the Party leadership. They adopt these tactics in order to silence those who disagree with them, and to gain a legitimate base for themselves. They try to take advantage of our criticism of doctrinairism to hawk their own counterfeit goods.

Another characteristic of these revisionists is that they call themselves "reformers," "innovators," "seekers after truth," "explorers," "interventionists in life," "founders of new schools of art," and so on and so forth. They demand "freedom for writers," as if their aim were to produce some original work of art, and they are active supporters of the principle to let a hundred flowers blossom, a hundred schools of thought contend. Thus anyone who criticizes them can be accused of failing to carry out this principle and of interfering with their "freedom." Still this trick can fool nobody. Chairman Mao has said: "On the surface, these two slogans—let a hundred flowers

blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend—have no class character: the proletariat can turn them to account, so can the bourgeoisie and other people." But we put forward this principle and are carrying it out from the stand of the proletariat. We want to develop a socialist literature, we insist on holding fast to Marxism-Leninism and a literature that serves the workers, peasants and soldiers. We must therefore wage a struggle in the realm of ideas against all anti-Marxist, anti-socialist tendencies, while allowing them to express themselves. Only by so doing can we truly let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend. The revisionists, on the other hand, look. At this principle from a bourgeois standpoint. They take "freedom for writers" to mean that bourgeois ideas may develop freely without being criticized; they demand freedom to attack and distort Marxism without. Being criticized for it, and to carry out the bourgeois line in literature. If they have such freedom, we shall not be free to develop our socialist literature, to hold fast to Marxism, or to keep to the policy that literature should be written for the workers, peasants and soldiers, as well as the socialist line. We can never tolerate the existence of this bourgeois freedom which runs counter to the basic interests of the working class and the country as a whole. When revisionists talk of "reforms and explorations," because they are against Marxism, they can only lead people backward instead of forward. Their explorations in art can only lead down a bourgeois, antisocialist path. Once this point is clear, the fine phrases they use to fool others simply reveal their intrinsic baseness.

Yet another characteristic of the revisionists is the way in which they use all the tools at their disposal. From old tombs they dig up antiquated, rusty weapons, give them a modern veneer, and brandish them desperately at Marxism. All these weapons with which they oppose the theory of class struggle—"freedom for writers," "exposure of the seamy side," "portrayal of the truth," "the human touch" or "human nature"—were thoroughly debunked in the thirties by Chairman Mao and Lu Hsun. Still the ghosts remain, and in this spate of revisionist ideas they have come back to life. Completely ignoring the fact that mankind has now reached the age of the socialist

revolution of the proletariat, they hold up Western bourgeois literature as a model for socialist literature, demanding that our writers take the path of bourgeois realism. This is another tactic which many enemies of socialist realism have used. This harping on old tunes shows that as long as bourgeois ideas exist, those debunked—sometimes many times debunked—bourgeois theories will emerge again, given the necessary conditions. We think them antiquated, but to the revisionists they appear novelties.

This revisionist trend has social, class and historical roots. First, broadly speaking, as long as bourgeois ideas exist, it is theoretically possible to have revisionist thinking. Petty-bourgeois thought belongs to the sphere of bourgeois thought, which is reactionary and. Opposes the progress of socialism. “The bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie are bound to give expression to their ideologies. It is inevitable that they should stubbornly persist in expressing themselves in every way possible on political and ideological questions.” (Mao Zedong.) After the socialist revolution in the economic field is basically completed, though bourgeois and petty-bourgeois thoughts have lost their basis they persist in expressing themselves, in challenging Marxism, in defending and fighting on theoretical questions for the economic base already lost. In literature this takes the form of a resistance to socialism and Marxist thought, scepticism about the socialist line in literature, indifference or dislike for the working class, and admiring envy of the bourgeois way of life.

Secondly, this revisionist trend was caused by the frantic attack of the rightists. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, in the struggle against socialism initiated by the rightists, the revisionists proved their best allies. In order to oppose the Communist Party and socialism, the rightists deliberately and systematically made up and spread revisionist ideas. They encouraged the development of revisionism, using it as their theoretical weapon in their reactionary activities. This speeded up the development of revisionist ideas. A high proportion of revisionist theories and pernicious literature was produced by rightists within or without the Party.

Thirdly, historically speaking, the revisionist line in literature represented by Hu Feng and Feng Hsueh-feng has had a certain amount of influence on revolutionary writers and won the sympathy of certain bourgeois individualists. As this bourgeois influence had not been completely wiped out, on this occasion it resumed the offensive. Many of our Chinese writers and artists come from the exploiting classes. They have been influenced by Soviet literature, but also much influenced by bourgeois literature. During the democratic revolution this bourgeois literature had a positive role to play; but now that we are passing through the socialist revolution, if we still use progressive bourgeois literature as the criterion for socialist literature, this will take the form of revisionism and hold up our progress.

Fourthly, the events in Hungary, the clamour set up by the imperialists, and certain revisionist trends elsewhere directed against the Soviet Union, Marxism and socialist realism, also had some influence on our literature. Revisionist trends always have an international character, and easily win the sympathy of bourgeois intellectuals or others who lack a firm stand.

We now have a deeper understanding of the significance of Chairman Mao's statement that "Revisionism, or rightist opportunism, is a bourgeois trend of thought which is even more dangerous than doctrinairism."" Both the history of Soviet literature and that of our modern literature prove this to be so. The exposure of the anti-Party clique of Ting Ling, Chen Chi-hsia and Feng Hsueh-feng and the intensification of the anti-rightist struggle among writers and artists also prove the truth of this. As the chief aim of the revisionists is to deny and weaken Party leadership, when we criticize revisionist ideas in literature we cannot but consider the supreme importance of this leadership.

One of the chief reasons for succumbing to the influence of revisionism is a wrong concept of Party leadership. When a writer lives and works in accordance with Party ideas, he advances along a correct path and achieves results in his work. But once he considers himself wiser than the Party and wants to detach himself from it, he falls into the quagmire of revisionism, achieves nothing worth-while,

and may even backslide so far that he becomes a rightist. In the obscurity of bourgeois theories, Party leadership and the Party line are a never failing beacon light which illumines our path ahead. Individuals as such are insignificant. Whether a man is a Party member or not, he can only be a genuine writer of the people when he takes his stand with the Party which fully represents the interests of the proletariat, and hence of the great majority of the people; when he takes its thought as his guide, observes and depicts life from the Party standpoint, makes its revolutionary spirit his own, and dedicates his entire strength and life to its cause.

REVIEW OF *RED FLAG FOLK SONGS*

From: *Chinese Literature*, no. 4 (1960): 120–27

Red Flag Folk Songs, edited by the well-known poet Kuo Mojo and the literary critic Chou Yang, was published by *Hongqi*, Peking in 1959. The songs in this collection reflect the Big Leap of 1958 and are a product of the Big Leap. They are, in fact, the most concentrated expression in art of the spirit of the age of Mao Zedong. The writers of these songs have passionately and truthfully voiced the lofty aspirations of China's labouring people in their conquest of nature and the construction of their mighty country; they have used the freshest colours to depict life in the period of the Big Leap. 'This is the first anthology of poetry in China to have translated Jabour so superbly into poetry, to have brought out so movingly the beauty of socialist labour, the nobility of the labouring people and their splendid spirit.

The publication of *Red Flag Folk Songs* is of great significance in three respects.

First, this collection provides a profound and comprehensive reflection in art of the unprecedented Big Leap of 1958. It forms the epic of the Big Leap. The heroic spirit of China's toiling millions, who have moved mountains and seas, their daring communist style, their lofty moral stature, their unprecedented creativeness—all these are vividly and skilfully epitomized in these three hundred poems. When we open this book, we hear resounding echoes of the bugles of the Big Leap; the whole is filled with the enthusiasm and laughter of the labouring people, the praises which pour from their hearts. This record of our time will go down brilliantly to history. *Red Flag Folk Songs*, together with many other fine new folk songs, constitute an immortal monument to the Big Leap, which will stand for ever mighty and triumphant at the threshold of this new era.

Secondly, Red Flag Folk Songs is the voice of hundreds of millions of labouring people expressing their heartfelt praise for the Gencral Line of transition to socialism, the Big Leap and the people's communes. A work of art, it is also a fighting weapon. It has power to

stir men; it has a strong partisan spirit; in propagating the General Line its influence is profound and widespread. In fact, many poems in *Red Flag Folk Songs*, already widely circulated, are frequently quoted by newspapers and are becoming part of the language of our people.

Thirdly, Red Flag Folk Songs is a notable achievement as poetry. It represents the cream of millions of folk songs, is the Book of Songs[3] of our socialist age, and will exercise a deep and enduring influence on all our new poetry. The appearance of this anthology augurs further and greater development for our socialist literature.

The spirit of the age of the Big Leap may be seen in the following poem:

I am seventy-nine this year,
My arms are of steel, my hands of iron;
I go all out, then make another spurt,
Stronger than the engine of any train.

My shoulders carry two hills,
My hands prop up two buildings;
Tempered in the fire since I was young,
I have hard bones.

In the course of the Big Leap the labouring people with their hands of iron and arms of steel have literally torn mountains apart and ridges asunder, accomplishing uncounted miracles. No difficulty can crush our indomitable workers and peasants. The old man in this song stands for the millions of hardworking labourers who are driving the engine of socialism and are thoroughly steeled through labour. Such songs speak the language of heroes and give us a picture of invincible heroes. Even rocks are smashed by such iron hands.

Tributes to the Communist Party, Chairman Mao Zedong, the General Line, the Big Leap and the people's communes, form the chief contents of *Red Flag Folk Songs*. Our labouring people are fervent in

[3] One of the well-known "five classics" and China's first collection of songs edited by Confucius.

their praise of our great leader and use the most beautiful and forceful expressions to describe him: “Mao Zedong is like the red sun which shines bright on every side.”

Chairman Mao is infinitely kind,
Ten thousand songs are not enough to praise him.
With trees as pens, the sky as paper
And an ocean of ink,
Much would still be left unwritten.

The song *The Chairman Travels All China* puts in a nutshell the way in which the wisdom of Mao Zedong inspired the whole people in 1958 when he led the Big Leap.

The Chairman travels all China,
The mountains are happy and the rivers too;
Mount Omei with both hands presents its treasures,
The Yellow River wags its tail and sings.

The Chairman travels all China,
The workers are happy and the peasants too;
Hills of cotton and grain soar up to the sky,
Molten steel and iron flow like rivers.

Here the figure of Mao Zedong is linked inseparably with the great advance of the people of the whole country.

In the life and work of our people the General Line has been translated into concrete images. ‘The most beautiful and apt images are used, as well as a variety of similes and techniques, to sing the General Line. Flat, repetitious images indicate a mental poverty and dearth of experience; but since the heroes on our different fronts have a consistently rich life and their hearts are constantly full of revolutionary enthusiasm, their songs ate correspondingly rich and varied, with images as fresh as lotus flowers blooming in the light of the dawn. Thus a Shantung folk song says:

The General Line is the whip to drive mountains,
To drive before it big mountains and small hills;
It drives the big mountains to fill up the seas;
It drives the small hills to make pigsties.

The General Line is the axe to cleave rivers,
All our six hundred million are pacifiers of flood;
Thousands of streams must now obey men's will,
Pouring out their gold for us, pouring out their silver.

Whip and axes are among the implements with which peasants are most familiar. When by poetic exaggeration they compare the whip and the axe to the General Line, we grasp what a sharp and effective tool this is in the hands of the labouring people.

Similarly the Chinghai folk song *All Plants, Animals and Minerals Are Happy* skilfully describes the joyous changes in nature to show the great mobilizing force of the General Line. And while this poem does not specifically mention the General Line as a powerful weapon, the scenes of joy throughout the natural world after the General Line is carried out sufficiently reveal its potency. Here are four stanzas:

The apples laugh till their cheeks turn red,
The melons laugh till they grow sweet as honey,
The flowers laugh till they split open wide,
The peas laugh till they become full and round.

The hemp laughs as it enters the factory
To turn into artificial cotton;
The potatoes laugh as down they roll,
All the way down the slopes.

The cattle graze and skip with joy
As one becomes two, and two become three;

And hearing this news the hen makes haste
To lay three eggs in one day.

The copper-mines laugh and glitter with gold;
The crystal-mines laugh and sparkle;
The coal laughs in its fiery robe
And rushes into the furnace to smelt iron…

In this description of the tremendous achievements of the Big Leap, the poet makes no mention of the record harvest, but only of peas growing round, potatoes rolling downhill, cattle multiplying, coal entering the furnaces to smelt iron... All is laughter, energy and excitement, and as the rapidly changing scenes follow one another we are exhilarated by so much abundance. Nature is personified in this song, for all things in nature share the feelings of the labouring people; mobilized by the General Line, natural wealth increases and multiplies with breath-taking speed. Man is the master of nature, especially during the age of the Big Leap. The personified nature in our new works of art reflects the fact that our labour today is creative and happy. This is why the toiling people have transferred their joy in labour to the peas, the cattle, the copper-mines and the coal. The songs of the past lack these fresh, new images, because the toilers then were exploited and enslaved instead of being masters of society and nature. "If Heaven had a human heart it would grow old too!" wrote Li Ho, the Tang dynasty poet. When life was a vale of tears in which even nature wept, how could the nature in poetry be joyous? But this folk song, which starts by showing how the wishes of the people are embodied in the General Line, uses a series of lively images to present a full picture of a rich harvest and a great advance. *The Giant Dragon of the East* uses different images:

The General Line is a great bell,
When this bell tolls both heaven and earth are shaken;
The giant dragon of the East uncoils,
With a crash of thunder it soars to the sky.

This powerful poem has a true nobility as it sings of the General Line's power to mobilize six hundred and fifty million people. Many songs praise different aspects of the General Line, each using original images. For since each victory in our work confirms the correctness of the General Line, the images used by these folk poets are infinite.

This anthology is the crystallization of a high ideological content and art of a high order. In style it is both integrated and varied. All these poems are characterized by the spirit of freedom, clear images, regular forms and harmonious rhythm, as well as by lively, concise and expressive language based on the speech of the labouring people but further polished. These common features of this collection of new folk songs give it a distinctively national style. At the same time, however, we can see the influence on some of these songs of the traditional modes of expression of classical Chinese poetry, while others show the influence of modern poetry. Moreover, different themes, different nationalities, different localities and different authors all have their distinctive features. So we find magnificent songs like *The Giant Dragon of the East* as well as delicate sketches of scenery in such poems as *The Little Boat*. "...It passes the willow-clad shore, to melt into peach blossom hills." There are charming love songs, too, like *The Melon Vine*:

> The leaves of the melons are no bigger than bowls,
> The lovers are making a trellis...
> When the melons grow under this cover,
> Then they can talk face to face.

There are satirical poems, too, like *Everyone Thinks Her Dirty*:

> Her hair is neatly combed,
> Her face is sweetly powdered;
> But because she never does a stroke of work,
> Everyone thinks her dirty.

The variety of content reflects the richness of our people's life. But, without doubt, the majority of these poems are in praise of labour. No other work has succeeded in giving such a profound, all-embracing and attractive picture of labour as this selection of songs. After reading *Red Flag Folk Songs* we feel that work is the most wonderful thing in the world and a life of creative work the most wonderful life. Such poetry can be written naturally and in truly evocative language only by working people living in the period of the Big Leap, who possess a genuine and conscious enthusiasm for their work, who love it and take pride in it with all their hearts. Let us look at *The Flying Stream*:

> We cut the cliff in two and dig through the river,
> A stream flies through the east hill and the west;
> The flowing water gurgling in the air
> Is like a goddess plucking the strings of her lyre.

Here we seem to hear the clear sound of the stream flying through the air, which the poet compares to a melody—the pipes connecting the two hills are the strings of a lyre. We become conscious that this feat of cutting through the cliff to let water pass is not only a magnificent job of work but a beautiful work of art. Similar feelings are evoked by *The Sun Comes Out at Night*.

> Everywhere songs are being sung,
> A fiery dragon has crawled up the hill.
> The girl laughs aloud and cries:
> "Look, the sun is rising!"

This song conveys most forcefully the inspiring sight and heroic spirit of people working at night and conquering the darkness. It is night, but torches blaze all over the hill, songs are heard everywhere and the sound of men at work. The girl standing on the hill looking out over this magnificent and beautiful scene cannot help laughing and exclaiming: "Look, the sun is rising!" For labour has created another sun, has changed the sequence of time. These are stirring moments

when the working people, undeterred by any hardship, translate labour into such sublime spectacles.

We could quote many such songs. Labour has enriched poetry, and poetry has in turn enriched labour. Though much of our labour is not yet mechanized and many tasks are still heavy, the vanguard of the working people, who possess a bold communist style of work and are conscious of their own creative strength, have turned physical labour into poetry. So work inspires poems, and the folk songs appearing on all sides are as innumerable as the stars in the sky. These are not verses artificially composed, but songs which burst unchecked from men's hearts. For when the labouring people are fully aware of the beauty of life, they must sing songs and write poems. The following song expresses the creative enthusiasm of our working folk:

> After going to evening school for thirty days,
> I am bold enough to write poetry.
> Though this is like cabbage and bean curd—
> Plain, coarse fare—still it tastes good!

Our labouring people have already produced many such splendid and immortal songs which will be handed down to future generations. When their cultural level is raised, they will surely accomplish wonders.

ON MR. CHOU KU-CH'ENG'S VIEW OF CONTRADICTION (1964)

From: *Renmin Ribao* (22 July 1964), accessed via Bannedthought.net

Having read Mr. Chou Ku-Ch'eng's "Unified Whole and Separate Reflections" (carried in the *Kuang-ming Jih-pao*, November 7, 1963), I feel rather amazed. In my article "A Brief Discussion on the Spirit of the Times," I lay stress on criticizing Mr. Chou's super-class theory of "convergence" which transcends classes and formally put forward my view on the spirit of the times. The article written by Mr. Chou in reply makes no mention whatever of his theory of "convergence," but pulls over to talk about "unified whole and separate reflections," in the endeavor to bring up another issue to mend the loophole. In regard to my point of argument, apart from fabricating such funny "reasons" as "looking one-sidedly toward the thought of the landlords for the motive force of progress" and "it was an unfortunate fact that there had been different classes in history" to disavow it, he cannot advance any serious repudiation. This method of evading the contradiction, mixing one issue with another and turning around to talk about another thing is definitively not an earnest attitude in academic research.

For example, one of the focal points I discuss with Mr. Chou is what is after all the spirit of the times, Is the spirit of the times after all "a convergence" of different kinds of class consciousness? There is a fundamental difference between Mr. Chou Ku-ch'eng and me on this issue. However, Mr. Chou Ku-ch'eng has covertly turned "the spirit of the times" into "the spirit of this era," that is the "different kinds" of thought of "this era." So he broadens the subject by saying: "Apart from the revolutionary spirit, there are also all kinds non-revolutionary and counterrevolutionary spirits." He then says: "If China has only one kind of spirit of one class today, what is the object of the revolution? A revolution without an object is like shooting an arrow without a target." It can only be said that this method is seldom seen in academic discussion.

How can a person who knows both "historical materialism" and "dialectics" covertly replace the concept of "the spirit of the times" with the different kinds of spirits of "this era" under the gaze of the public? Even a primary schoolboy knows that some concepts can only be interpreted in terms of their meaning, that "the paper tiger" cannot be interpreted as "a tiger made of paper," and that the so-called "Free World" cannot be interpreted as "a free world." Likewise, "the spirit of the times" also cannot fundamentally be interpreted as the different kinds of "spirits" of "this era." If the meaning of a concept is vulgarly analyzed in this way, all scientific inquiries will come to nought. Although the use of this vulgar method can create something out of nothing and stick such funny labels as "disavowal of the object of revolution" and "there is only one class and one kind of spirit in China today" on the opposite side, yet it has after all not the least strength, and can only expose the emptiness of one's own theory.

Mr. Chou Ku-ch'eng also holds that my analysis of "new creation" coincides with his view. He says although he has not discussed the point that my "new creation" and "originality" bear distinctly different class contents, yet my viewpoint still coincides with his. He says: "It is true that I have not talked about this, but is it not just as good for Mr. Yao to talk more on what I have not talked about?" I have participated in quite a number of debates but never before have I come across of any one who makes use of so funny a method in self-defense. My viewpoint clearly contradicts that of Mr. Chou Ku-ch'eng. He covers up the class contradiction, while I expose the class contradiction. He stands for new creation above class, and affirms all new creations in an abstract manner, while I advocate new creation with the class viewpoint, affirm "the revolutionary, progressive new creations," but oppose "new creations which are reactionary and consider what is rotten as marvelous." How, comes it that I am in agreement with him? What I have said is obviously in conflict with or opposed by Mr. Chou. How can it be asserted that my viewpoint is "identical" with that of Mr. Chou Ku-ch'eng? It is of no avail for Mr. Chou to impose "the realm of difference" on me.

There are more than 20 such arguments in the whole article, and I do not propose to point them out one by one. Since Mr. Chou obstinately wants to divert the discussion toward "the unified whole" and the different aspects of philosophy, art and history, we are determined to meet the challenge. In conjunction with giving an answer, this article is prepared to look further into Mr. Chou's view on contradiction to see what is his set of theories dealing with contradiction.

What Sort of Thing is the "Unified Whole" Based on "Convergence" According To Mr. Chou?

Mr. Chou Ku-ch'eng is doing his utmost to depict his own theory of "convergence" as a dialectical unity. He also describes his view on the spirit of the times as in conformity with the law of the unity of opposites. In order to cover up his own theory of the reconciliation of contradictions, he really does a lot of talking that seems to lay emphasis on struggle this time. However, what is true cannot be described as false, and what is false also cannot be described as true. The desire to employ the theory of "convergence" in the guise of Marxist dialectics is of no avail.

What is the unity of opposites according to dialectics? This is clearly explained in "On Contradiction": "All contradictory things are interconnected; not only do they coexist in a single entity in given conditions, but in other given conditions, they also transform themselves into each other. This.is the full meaning of the identity of opposites."[4] This is also the full meaning of identity or unity referred in dialectics.

What is Mr. Chou's theory of "convergence?" His article tells us that this is the "convergence" of the different antithetic ideas of different classes to form a "whole." "Separate reflections are the parts, while the unified whole is the whole. The whole is made up a great number of complex parts, and these parts are opposed to and struggle

[4] Mao Zedong, "On Contradiction," in *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, vol. 1, Second ed. (Paris: Foreign Languages Press, 2021), 310.

against each other. Hence, such a whole is not any empty thing above class. To put it the other way round, the antithesis and struggle of the parts within the whole go on without rest at all times, and hence they can only be separately reflected, but cannot replace each other."

Mr. Chou thinks that by making such a change, he can immediately turn his theory of "convergence" into dialectics. However, provided the two passages quoted in the above are read side by side, it can be seen at once that Mr. Chou's "unified whole" or "whole" is distinctly different from the entity based upon the unity of opposites in dialectics. There are at least three points of difference:

First, the "entity" referred to in Marxist dialectics means to say that the two aspects of a contradiction exclude and struggle against each other, but are also interconnected and presuppose the existence of each other under given conditions, and hence they form an entity that develops according to laws. Therefore, dialectics calls for the analysis of the interrelationship of the two aspects of a contradiction, sees the quality and tendency of development of this entity and its two aspects of the contradiction, and fully arouses all revolutionary, positive factors to impel the revolutionary transformation of things. However, what Mr. Chou Ku-ch'eng describes as the "unified whole" fundamentally does not refer to this objective dialectical relationship of the two aspects of a contradiction. It calls for the indiscriminate "convergence" of diverse "non-revolutionary and counter-revolutionary" ideas to form a "whole," and the "convergence" of the diverse ideas of this era to form an abstract "spirit of the times." What is this if it is not to reconcile the different kinds of ideas and make hotchpotch of them? Such a "unified whole" is genuinely "an empty thing above class," and is fundamentally different from the "entity" described in the law of the unity of opposites.

Second, Mr. Chou Ku-ch'eng describes the inter-relationship of the different aspects of a contradiction as the quantitative relationship between the "whole" and "a great number of parts," that is the sum total of the various parts is equal to the whole. He asks aggressively:

"Is not the People's Republic of China a unified whole? But up to the moment, it incorporates not only different classes and different kinds of consciousness, and there exist in effect different classes; different nationalities and-different languages." Of course, who does not know that the whole can be divided into various parts and the various part can form the whole? It takes but a minimum knowledge of formal logic to know this. How can this take the place of the unity of opposites in dialectics? Even the analysis of the dialectical relationship of the parts and the whole in such an entity calls for the analysis of the mutual dependence, mutual exclusion and mutual transformation of the two aspects, and the analysis of the principal aspect and the non-principal aspects among them. It is not so effortless as to have some things "incorporated."

As Mr. Chou sees it, the People's Republic of China can be shown to be a dialectical "unified whole" merely by demonstrating that it represents the "convergence" of many "races" and classes. But this serves precisely to reveal that he has completely forsaken dialectics. The unity of opposites in dialectics refers not merely to the number of parts incorporated in the whole. This can be worked out by simple addition and subtraction. People all know that the unity of opposites in dialectics seeks to expose the inner contradiction inherent in an object. Any single whole can not only be divided into many parts, but can also and must be divided into two parts. Lenin said: "The splitting of a single whole and the cognition of its contradictory parts... is the essence (one of 'essentials,' one of the principal, if not the principal, characteristics or features) of dialectics." ("On the Question of Dialectics," *Collected Works of Lenin*, Vol, XXXVII, Page 407.) The People's Republic of China is really a "unified whole," but the "unified whole" formed through "converging" the "different classes" is merely a static, unchanged, and metaphysical "unified whole." The unity of opposites in dialectics requires us to see that there are diverse contradictions of different nature among the different classes of the People's Republic of China, but among the diverse contradictions, the principal contradiction is the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the existence and development of this

contradiction determine and influence the existence and development of other kinds of contradictions. We can and must use the method of class analysis to divide this, single whole into two, with the proletariat and the broad masses of the revolutionary people who make up more than 90 per cent of the population on the one side (this is the principal aspect of the contradiction, and the dictatorship of the proletariat determines the nature of the People's Republic of China), and the bourgeoisie 'and other exploiting classes on the other side, and study on the basis of class relationship the interdependence, struggle and transformation of these two aspects in the single whole. This is also true of a nation. The nationalities relationships form a profile of the class relationships of the People's Republic of China, and different nationalities form the unity of the nationalities relationships. Because this profile is seen, we not only can make use of the method of class analysis to study the inner contradictions of the different nationalities; but also can use it to analyze the position of the nationalities relationships in the whole class relationship and the relationship between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities. It is stipulated in our nationalities policy that it is necessary to oppose the two tendencies toward pan-Hanism and local nationalism. This reflects the dialectical law of the unity of opposites in such an entity as nationalities relationship and is in conformity with the dialectical division of one into two. If, like Mr. Chou, the "unified whole" is simply looked upon as the sum total of different nationalities, then all nationalities policies can be abolished. How can the metaphysical "unified whole" which is obviously nothing more than a quantitative change be disguised as the dialectical unity of opposites? In passing, I may as well mention that it is also a mistake for Mr. Chou to use "races" in place of nationalities.

Third, what is more important is that the unity of opposites in dialectics not only acknowledges the interdependence and mutual struggle of the two aspects of a contradiction, but also emphasizes the mutual transformation of the two aspects under given conditions. The article "On Contradiction" says that "it is not enough" to acknowledge

the coexistence of the two aspects in an entity. It adds: "The matter does not end with their dependence on each other for their existence; what is more important is their transformation into each other." (*Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. I, page 316.) The acknowledgement of transformation is the acknowledgement of the revolution, the acknowledgement of the leap, the acknowledgement of qualitative change, the acknowledgement of the inevitable replacement of rotten things by new-born things, and the acknowledgement of the inevitable conquest of the reactionary classes by the revolutionary class. In "On Contradiction," the analysis of an abundance of data demonstrates the following truth: "The suppression of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe. The transformation of one thing into another, through leaps of different forms in accordance with its essence and external conditions—this is the process of the new superseding the old. In each thing there is contradiction between its new and its old aspects, and this gives rise to a series of struggles with many twists and turns. As a result of these struggles, the new aspect changes from being minor to being major and rises to predominance, while the old aspect changes from being major to being minor and gradually dies out." (*Ibid*. Page 311.) Through the struggle of opposites, the new-born things triumph, and continuously push forward the development of history from one stage to another. This is the process of world transformation of the proletariat and the revolutionary people. All rotten revolutionary and declining forces and all metaphysicians are forbidden to talk about transformation. They reject the qualitative leap brought about by the victory of the new-born things.

Mr. Chou's theory of "the unified whole," however, abolishes precisely the "more important" relationship. He reconciles the different classes and their class consciousness in "the unified whole," and like avoiding the place that hurts, makes no mention at all of the transformation of contradictions, the struggle to bring, about revolutionary transformation, and the difference between the new-born forces and the decadent forces. It is precisely for the purpose of showing himself as the defender of the "unity of opposites" that when

he talks about "struggle," he only says that the opposites "are interconnected, interdependent for existence and struggle against and condition each other" "at all times and endlessly," but he never mention anything about transformation, the leap and qualitative change. Thus, Mr. Chou has deprived the law of the unity of opposites of its revolutionary soul.

Is this a mere coincidence? No, for Mr. Chou's theory of reconciliation of contradictions inevitably leads to this conclusion. Essentially speaking, Mr. Chou hopes with all his heart that there is "the realm of no difference." But once he comes into contact with society full of contradictions, he also feels that the rejection of contradiction is really not justified. Thus, he can only admits the existence of contradiction, but according to his description, the contradictory things are forever equally divided in "the whole" and forever interdependent, but do not contribute to the changes of the two aspect of the contradiction within the entity, the destruction of old things, the victory of new things, the solution of the old contradiction to make way for a new contradiction, and the disappearance of the old entity to make way for a new entity. This thing which assumes the name of "dialectics" but is eclecticism in can also be accepted by the conservative forces when they essence is a philosophy which are unfavorably placed.

For the down-fallen classes and strata in society, the disavowal of revolutionary transformation is often used as a shield or tool to realize reactionary transformation. Mr. Chou's theory of "convergence" which rejects transformation, the leap and qualitative change is objectively suitable for guarding against the extinction of rotten old things.

Judging by the three points mentioned in the above, Mr. Chou's theory of the "unified whole" abrogates in effect the revolutionary soul of the unity of opposites in dialectics. This "iron-clad fact cannot be denied."

Coming to this stage, we can talk about the question of the spirit of the times. Times move forward in contradiction and struggle. They are not static and immobile. The different classes, political forces

and social groups of an age always can propel or obstruct the forward movement of history, and be divided from one into two. The spirit of the times can only be the spirit that drives history forward. It is not a spirit which impedes the forward movement of history or pulls back history. Who drive the times forward? They are the revolutionary classes and the masses of that age. Therefore, it is always the aspect which represents the revolutionary, new-born things that gives expression to the spirit of the times, but not the aspect which represents the rotten, reactionary things. It is the spiritual force of the revolutionary classes of that age who seek to transform the world, but not the spiritual force of the reactionary classes who resist transformation. The spirit reflects the idea, desire or demand of those classes who are destined in the end to become the rulers of the age through struggles with many twists and turns, but not the idea, desire or demand of those classes who must finally leave the historical stage after a series of struggles with many twists and turns. This is the inevitable conclusion of dialectics based on acknowledging the transformation of contradictions and impelling the revolutionary transformation of contradictions.

What we usually call the "May 4 spirit" is the thoroughly revolutionary spirit against imperialism and feudalism. The imperialist and feudalist thought is, however, not counted as a part of the "May 4 spirit" for it is only the opposite washed by the "May 4 spirit." We often say that literature and art must give expression to the spirit of the times in the socialist era today. This is the thoroughly revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, the great spiritual feature of the revolutionary people in the practice of socialist revolution and socialist construction, the great spiritual feature of the revolutionary people in the struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, but not the different kinds of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie based on opposition to socialism and capitulation to imperialism.

Mr. Chou says this is not so. He pleads again and again: "What I call 'the spirit of the times prevailing throughout society' includes at all times, two aspects of thought, namely, the thoughts of the slaves and the slave owners, the thoughts of the peasants and the feudal

landlords, the thoughts of the workers under hire and the bourgeoisie, for one aspect of thought alone cannot form a struggle." He never mentions which of these two aspects "forming the struggle" represents the new-born things and which aspect represents the decadent things; which aspect will triumph and which aspect will withdraw from the historical stage after going through "the struggle." He only says that the "struggle" will go on immutably forever on an even keel without qualitative change. His logic is that since the proletarian thought forms a "unified whole" with the bourgeoisie, the proletarian thought can never triumph over the bourgeois thought. With the spirit of the times interpretated in this way, does it not mean that the march of times cannot take place and that there can never be victory for "the promotion of proletarian ideas and the destruction of bourgeois ideas?"

Whether or not the spirit of the times is known on the basis of the viewpoint on class analysis is a thing bearing on the question of what things are praised or opposed by literature and art, and the question of the nature and contents of literature and art. The modern revisionists also talk in a big way that literature and art must express the spirit of the times. However, they reject the fundamental contradiction of the times, and describe the spirit of the times as a certain kind of abstract "human nature." Alternatively, they look upon all "contemporary things" or "the newly emerging characters, deeds and things" as the "spirit of the times," and do not find y out through analysis whether such "contemporary things" or "new characters" are revolutionary, new-born things or rotten, declining things. By means of this method, they look upon all things which are opposed to socialism and inclined toward capitalism but are disguised to assume a modern look as the expression of the spirit of the times, and prettify and praise them. We must draw a clear line of demarcation from this kind of viewpoint in theory.

The obliteration of the dissimilar nature of the two aspects of a contradiction and the negation of the revolutionary transformation arising through struggle constitute the philosophical basis of Mr. Chou who holds that "the non-revolutionary and counterrevolutionary"

ideas all "converge" to form the spirit of the times. In methodology this is sophistry. But the most brilliant sophistry cannot stand the test of the most common fact. With the exception of those who are mentally unsound, there will probably be no person who would give credit to the allegation that both the thought of Kennedy and the thought of Lei Feng express the "whole" spirit of the times, or that Marxism-Leninism, revisionism and fascism all "converge" to form the same spirit of the times.

The So-called "Realm of No Difference" Is Sheerly a Subjective Hypothesis

Concerning the "realm of no difference," a lot has been said by other comrades. But if this is linked with his theory of "convergence," we can see things even more clearly. This is because there is an inner-connection between these two views.

In Mr. Chou's theoretical system, all things—history, literature and art, process of knowing, etc.—have two stages of development. One stage is the realm with contradiction. He also admits that there can be struggle within the contradiction, but such "struggle" is only a sort of "convergence," and since there is no transformation, no qualitative leap, or triumph of new-born things over rotten things, it is essentially the reconciliation of contradictions. The other stage is his idea of "realm of no difference." At this stage, all contradictions have been "solved," and the "state of absoluteness" based on "the complete unity of subjectivity and objectivity and so on and so forth in one" "without any objective changes" has been attained. This state is the state of "tranquility," "a life of tranquility with neither problems nor contradictions, like an autumn river free from ripples."

Defending "the realm of no difference" philosophically, Mr. Chou has this to say: "Chairman Mao has also told us that opposites can be united, contradictions can be solved, and it is possible to have a state of relative rest…With opposites identified, and contradictions solved, there can naturally be a state of relative rest." "The solution of contradiction means no difference. At that time, evolution does not

stop, nor does life end." ("Commenting on Mr. Yu Hsing's Art Review").

Mr. Chou distorts the original idea of "On Contradiction," and mixes up such concepts as unity of opposites, relative rest, solution of contradiction and no difference as one and the same thing.

From the foregoing paragraph it can be seen what Mr. Chou calls "the unity of opposites" is only the convergence of contradictions. It rejects transformation and the leap. Here is a question: Since the principal aspect and the non-principal aspect of the contradiction do not transform into each other, how would the contradiction "be solved?" In the colonial and semi-colonial countries, how would the contradiction between the people and imperialism and its lackeys be "solved" without the proletariat and the revolutionary people overthrowing imperialism and feudalism by means of revolution. In the capitalist society, how would the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie be "solved" without the proletariat seizing political power and thoroughly destroying the bourgeoisie? In the socialist society, how would the contradiction between the two opposing world outlooks of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie be "solved" without the proletariat ideology going through a protracted struggle to: overcome thoroughly the bourgeois ideology? Since there is not the leap from the old quality to the new quality, this kind of "solution" can only be a semblance, and the desire to create "the realm of no difference" from it is just a hollow illusion.

Second, "identity of opposites" and "solution of the contradiction" are different concepts. The identity of opposites is the identity of contradictions. It incorporates the condition for the two aspects of a contradiction to owe their existence to each other and the mutual transformation of the two aspects of contradictory things under given conditions. The "solution of the contradiction" refers only to the solution of the contradiction in the old entity through the qualitative change of a thing, but does not mean to say there is no contradiction in the new entity, much less to say there are no more contradictions. If we identify the "identity of opposites" with the "solution of the contradiction," and hold that the "identity of opposites" means no

contradiction, we are using the method of "taking one of the points but ignoring the rest" to castigate dialectics.

Third, the solution of a certain concrete contradiction will never lead to the emergence of "the realm of no difference." A thing is developed as a contradictory process, and every process of development incorporates the specific ingredients of the unity of opposites. In this process of development, the embryos of those contradictions forming the opposites in the next process of development have developed. With the old contradiction solved, the old unity with its constituent opposites yields to a new unity with its constituent opposites, and a new contradiction and struggle are going on again within this thing, thus impelling the development, of the new process. There is not a break without contradiction in between. "On Contradiction" tells us: "The old process ends and the new one begins. The new process contains new contradictions and begins its own history of the development of contradictions." (Ibid. page 295) No matter whether nature, human society, art creation or the process of knowing is concerned, it is always the history of the development of contradiction with one process following another process, and there is no "realm of no difference" in between

Fourth, "relative rest" is even less identical to the "realm of no difference." Here it is necessary to expose a typical case of how Mr. Chou distorts Chairman Mao's works. Mr. Chou quotes the following passage from "On Contradiction" to demonstrate the existence of the "realm of no difference:" "There are two states of motion in all things, that of relative rest and that of conspicuous change…Things are constantly transforming themselves from the first into the second state of motion; the struggle of opposites goes on in both states but the contradiction is resolved through the second state." What is the sentence deleted by Mr. Chou? It is precisely the sentence which demonstrates that there is contradiction in the state of relative rest. This reads: "Both states are caused by the struggle between the two contradictory elements contained in a thing" (Ibid. pages 320–321): This is precisely a viewpoint opposite to the "realm of no difference!" The struggle of opposites is also incorporated in the state of relative

rest, though this struggle changes more slowly quantitatively, and has not attained the stage of qualitative change. The task of a revolutionary is precisely to see the possibility and inevitability of the qualitative change of a thing at the stage of quantitative change, accumulate and organize strength, and actively bring about the advent of the revolutionary leap step by step, but not to wait passively for the advent of the qualitative change. The saying "thunderclaps are heard in a quiet place" precisely requires us to be good at detecting the revolutionary. leap which is being brewed in a quiet environment. Likewise, in regard to the attack of revolutionary things by reactionary things, or the development of a certain undesirable tendency, we are also required to see its harmful nature at the stage of relative rest, that is quantitative change, adopt measures, and not to be misled by what is called "realm of no difference." How can this state formed by contradictions at the stage of quantitative change be distorted to mean "the realm of no difference" free from contradictions?

Summing up the above, the "realm of no difference," as seen in the light of philosophy, is a purely subjective hypothesis. It abolishes the universality of contradiction, and cuts the continuity of the different stages of development. When it makes use of this subjective, hypothetical "realm" to analyze the phenomena of society, the phenomena of art and the phenomena of thinking, it give rise to a series of erroneous conclusions.

Mr. Chou Makes Use of the "Realm of No Difference" in Different Ways

In using the "realm of no difference" to analyze historical phenomena, Mr. Chou says: "Uninterrupted history is in fact formed by struggle in stages. In other words, it is a continuation of interruptions." ("History and Aesthetics") This "interruption" is not a gradual interruption arising from the leap, but is caused by the "realm of no difference" free from contradictions. There is no way for him to explain that since the development of history has made its way from "interruption" into the "realm of no difference," how is the "continuation" with the development of contradictions at the next stage possible? And how can a "realm boundary" without contradiction give rise to the "next stage" with contradiction? Does this not mean that it is necessary to attribute the "first driving force" to God like Newton? History does not develop in this way. In the course of resolving the principal contradiction at this "stage," it has conceived, produced and developed the contradiction which will form the principal contradiction at the next "stage." With the principal contradiction of this "stage" resolved, the secondary contradiction already in existence rises to form the principal contradiction of the next "stage." At each stage, the revolutionary classes and people must fight for the resolution of the principal contradiction at that stage, and at the same time make preparations for transition to the resolution of the contradiction of the next stage. There is not a gap without struggle and contradiction in between.

During the period of democratic revolution when the Chinese people fought against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie existed as one of the numerous contradictions. After the new democratic revolution triumphed throughout the country, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie rose to become the principal contradiction, and the revolution made its way from the period of democratic revolution into the period of socialist revolution. Because the proletariat must lead the revolutionary classes,

after the victory of the democratic revolution, it went on to fight for the victory of the socialist revolution and construction and did not go through a "realm of no difference" in order to carry on the socialist revolution. After the victory of the democratic revolution, it was true that some people who wanted to follow the capitalist road had dreamt that "new democracy will stay for ever." They did not understand that even the political line of new democracy also called for the democratic dictatorship of the people founded on the leadership of the proletariat and the worker-peasant alliance, and thought that the proletariat and the bourgeoisie would co-exist for a long time, and that, capitalism was free to inundate the country. However, the development of history has long ago destroyed this illusion.

Mr. Chou unfoundedly asserts: "What is called the march of history 'means that in the course of struggle, contradictions are resolved again and again, and the realm of no difference is approached again and again." ("The Historical Position of Art Creation") This violates the most elementary facts. The different stages of evolution from the proletarian society to the class society, and from the final stage of the class society through revolution to the realization of a new world of communism free from imperialism, capitalism and the system of exploitation all represent the qualitative changes of social contradictions, but not the disappearance of contradictions. In the socialist society, classes and class struggle will exist for a long time. Even when classes are abolished in the communist society, there still exists the contradiction between the productive forces and production relations and between the superstructure and the foundation. This kind of contradiction will inevitably be reflected in man's recognition and mutual relationship and impel the development of society through the subjective activity of the advanced people. Contradiction is the motive force for the development of things, and there is not and there will never emerge the realm without contradiction and difference in society.

It is noteworthy that when Mr. Chou uses the approach of the historical outlook to the "realm of no difference" to analyze the realities before us. He holds that the resolution of contradiction can

"finish the work in one battle," and after that we can sit back to enjoy things. He says: "We may say that we are going to fight hard for three years so that we may bring happiness to the next ten thousand generations, but we need not say that we are going to fight hard for three years so that our next ten thousand generations will fight hard. We may say that our predecessors planted trees to give shade to posterity, but we need not say that trees were planted by our predecessors so that trees may by planted by their successors." ("On Mr. Yu Hsing's Art Review") Nobody has ever said that "we are going to fight hard for three years so that our next ten thousand generations will fight hard." This is a sarcasm directed toward the revolutionary people. He means in substance to say that only the former stage calls for struggle, and one needs only to enjoy oneself at the latter stage. In other words, trees must be planted only at the former stage, and one needs only to cool oneself in the shade at the latter stage. Here, he makes the mistake of standing struggle against enjoyment and casting away the dialectical relationship between the two. As a matter of fact, the case is not like this. In the socialist society, any stage stands for the dialectical unity of struggle and enjoyment and the dialectical unity of planting trees and sitting in the shade. We now enjoy the fruit grown with a lot of blood of the martyrs and the fruit of happiness created with our own labor. This may be described as cooling oneself in the shade. Meanwhile, we must also toil diligently and carry on the revolution continuously to safeguard and develop this fruit of victory and create a better life for posterity. This also calls for the planting of trees. The next generation will enjoy the fruit of our hard struggle and cool themselves in the shade, but they must likewise carry on with the fight for the attainment of the communist ideals, and this again calls for the planting of trees. The self-conscious revolutionary fighters representing the advanced forces of any age are all conscious of their own historical duties and the historical contradictions before them. They go on to look upon the planting of trees as their highest pleasure, and never lie motionlessly under the trees just because their predecessors have planted the trees. If they do this, they will become the "down-fallen generation," and to be exact, they will form the

representatives of the declining classes and strata who stand against the interests of the broad people, and become parasites living on unearned income. Nevertheless, even the "down-fallen generation" cannot find any "realm of no difference." Their ugly look marked by craziness and hopelessness only shows that they have completely lost confidence in realistic life, but has no way, to prove the existence of Mr. Chou's "realm of no difference."

By mechanically standing "planting trees" against "cooling oneself in the shade," and "hard fighting" against "enjoyment," Mr. Chou's viewpoint will benumb people's hard-fighting spirit, and make their "descendants" care only for "enjoyment" but forget their own historical task in planting trees, and erroneously consider society laden with contradiction as having realized "the realm of no difference." This is very disadvantageous to the march of history.

Using "the realm of no difference" to analyze. life, Mr. Chou-looks upon "the oneness of subjectivity and objectivity" and "a life of tranquility without contradictions" as the highest ideals of life. However, there has never been such "a life of tranquility" in human society. The contradiction of exploitation and the exploited also existed between Robinson Crusoe and Saturday[5] on a deserted island, and the class boundary between the bourgeois "master" and his "servant" was quite distinct. Their life on the deserted island continuously encountered the contradiction between the subjective and the objective, and the "oneness of subjectivity and objectivity" was never attained.

It is true that Mr. Chou has also denied in his article that he looks upon this "realm of no difference" as an eternal realm, and has defended himself again and again in this connection. However, Mr. Chou still envies and gives pursuit to this "realm of no difference." He holds that this realm will appear "for a while" at a certain stage, and considers art as a means to attain this realm. This is only like those who run fifty paces laughing at those who run a hundred paces. The contradiction between this kind of verbal denial and actual pursuit of "the realm of no difference" reflects precisely the contradiction

[5] Editors: sic, probably meaning Friday.

between the objective fact and Mr. Chou's subjective illusion which can never be reconciled. This is the contradiction which all idealists have no way to resolve.

The pursuit of this kind of "life of tranquility" "without any change in the objectivity" is not a novel thing. In ancient China, some scholars wanted to lead the rustic life of a hermit or the life of monk in pursuit of a life "free from worries." However, they were after all unable to sever themselves from society, and no matter whether they were willing or not; they had to take part in social life as members of a class, and come into contact with this or that kind of contradiction with society. Although T'ao Yuan-ming shouted: "Go home to pick chrysanthemums under the eastern fence and leisurely feast your eyes on the southern mountains," yet he often uttered with a sigh: "Time waits for no man, and I can no longer gallop with my ambitions." He even vented his spleen by saying: "In celebration of his killing of Hsing Tien, Huang Ti danced with a battle-axe to show that he was always ferocious." It can be seen that T'ao Yuan-ming had failed to lead a life of tranquility based on the "realm of no difference." T'aohuayuan which was isolated from the world and enjoyed life by itself bears some resemblance to Mr. Chou's "realm of no difference" "without any changes." Unfortunately, the place was no more than an utopia on paper. Later, Wang Wei who was known for his landscape paintings could only sigh: In the spring, there are peach flowers everywhere on the water, but the fairyland cannot be found. "With the march of the times, no one has ever led a life of tranquility 'without any changes." Even the fairy tale about "seven days in the cave is as long as one thousand years in the world" also shows that even "in the cave" there are also changes, contradictions and development, and there is no absolute rest. Those who went in search of a life of no contradiction "free from any change in the objectivity" always took the opposite direction in the end. They were mentally filled with contradictions which could not be resolved, and so instead of giving pursuit to "the realm of no difference," they developed pessimism and nihilism in mentality and wrote numerous poems to air their sorrowfulness and hopelessness. There were quite a number of such

persons. Their dreams of "a life of tranquility" always came to nought in the end.

The declining bourgeoisie of the contemporary West and their followers also envy very much the "life of tranquility" without a difference. They ravishly talk about the "life of tranquility" marked by the "indiscriminate co-existence" of the exploiters and the exploited in their works of art. They want the workers to cooperate closely with their bosses, the people to co-exist peacefully with imperialism and the amazons of the Red Army to fall in love with the counterrevolutionary officers on a deserted island of "tranquility." However, this kind of "realm of no difference" is a fraud from beginning to end. They precisely want to use this kind of deceptive propaganda about the "realm of no difference" to attain the object of preserving for ever the class "difference" between imperialism and the oppressed people, and between the exploiting classes and the exploited classes.

In short, such a life of absolute tranquility based upon "the realm of no difference" has never emerged in human life. The revolutionary fighters of the proletariat should never indulge themselves in the illusion of so-called "life of tranquility." They must soberly look contradictions in the face, analyze and expose the contradictions, plunge themselves into the fiery life of mass struggle, actively impel the resolution of contradictions, find subjective satisfaction in the practice of transforming the objective world, and find "a happy frame of mind," happiness and joy from the revolutionary struggle of the masses. The profound significance of Marx's remark that happiness means struggle lies here. "There is unlimited pleasure in our struggle with nature, with land and with man!"[6] This is the most vivid and militant slogan of the revolutionary life of the proletarian fighters.

Using "the realm of no difference" to analyze art creation, Mr. Chou describes works of art as pastime works for the easing of contradiction, for the abolition of struggle and for the enjoyment of

[6] Editors: We are unsure where this quote originates from.

man. He arbitrarily coins such "a theory of aesthetics of the fatherland":

> The most outstanding theory of aesthetics of the fatherland is from rites to music. In modern terms, this means to say from a life of hard work to a life of ease, from tension to relaxation, from stern discipline to a happy mood, from the antithesis of contradictions to the unity of contradictions, from the struggle of opposites to the resolution of problems, from the realm of difference to the realm of absoluteness, from the realm of science to the realm of art. This theory can be implemented by threading it through all processes for the creation of works of art. ("A New Interpretation of Rites and Music")

These words of Mr. Chou distort dialectics relating to art creation in two respects.

First, speaking of the functions of works of art, art is the weapon of class struggle, and every class gives first place to the political and ideological functions of the works of art. The functions of politics and ideology seek to resolve the political and ideological contradictions between classes, promote and publicize the ideas and sentiments of one's own class and oppose the ideas and sentiments of the hostile class. To be sure, art also involves the function of amusement and rest, but among most works, this function of amusement seeks to drive silently the function of ideological education deep into the hearts of the people. It is topsy-turvy indeed for one to describe the works of art which are created for resolving contradiction as having "resolved" the contradictions.

The promotion of the function of "music" by the feudal class has a strong political character. It serves to consolidate feudal order, publicize feudal rites and morality, and benumb and weaken the people's spirit of resistance, but seeks in no way simply to promote "ease of mind" and "relaxation." A lot has been said about this in the

music theories of ancient times. It is precisely because of this that the feudal classes in all ages, especially the feudal rulers who had just assumed power through the establishment of new dynasty, gave an important place to "orthodox music." We pay great attention to music today because in this great struggle to unite and educate the people and to hit at and wipe out the enemy, music plays an enormous role in inspiring struggle and arousing the revolutionary sentiments of the people, but, not because we simply want "relaxation." At the time of the decline of the bourgeoisie and the feudal class, it is true that quite a lot of intoxicating decadent music has been produced for self-intoxication and the intoxication of the people to estrange them from the realistic contradictions. But this is a reflection of the fear of the bourgeoisie for and their evasion of the realistic struggle. It gives expression to the spiritual emptiness of the declining classes in the sharp class struggle, and is the outcome of their inability to reconcile and resolve the class contradictions before them. It is fundamentally not "the outcome of the resolution of a problem," or "the realm of absoluteness." This "aesthetic theory" of Mr. Chou does not hold water in the face of historical facts.

Second, speaking in terms of the process of art creation, the thinking of a writer is also the process of movement of opposites in logical thinking and thinking in terms of image, but not the process of "from the realm of no difference to the realm of absoluteness or from the realm of science to the realm of art." Without the movement of opposites in thinking, there is no generalization, concentration, typification, or idealization, and works of art will not appear. The thought of the subject matter arising from an abundance of raw material derived through imbibing and analyzing the realistic life is a leap in the movement of opposites in thinking. Up to this stage, the contradiction has not disappeared, for what is the social effect of the works must be examined again in the social practice of the masses. At that time, it is necessary to discover: the contradiction of the ideological contents and forms of art in the works with the needs of the masses according to the reflection of the masses, to revise or amend same, or to accept the lesson for application in resolving the

contradiction in the next process of creation. It is baseless to hold that once a work of art is "realized" or "implemented," there is no more contradiction between the subjective and the objective. As a matter of fact, any work will arouse different kinds of reaction among the masses. A revolutionary artist should pay great attention to the reaction of the workers, peasants and soldiers, and consider and sum up such reaction so as to make uninterrupted improvement in his own creation.

Mr. Chou Ku-ch'eng applies the theories of "the realm of no difference" and "the realm of absoluteness" in analyzing the process of creation. This was demonstrated in an article back in 1957. The following statement is consistent with his recent articles"

> The process of creation should be a "struggle" from the subjective to the objective, and should not be a process in which the subjective and the objective "run parallel." Before creation begins, the author has an intense subjective demand. When creation is in progress, there is sharp conflict and antagonism between the subjective and the objective. After successful creation, the subjective should have been expressed as the objective. When the subjective is expressed as the objective and the work is completed, the author should have triumphed in the struggle and liberated himself completely from the contradiction. If there is a so-called realm of absoluteness, the author should have entered the realm of absoluteness for a time at that time. If there is so-called absolute freedom, the author should have won absolute freedom for a time at that time. ("Existence of Beauty and Evolution.")

As Mr. Chou sees it, the process of creation is not the process of reflecting the objective social life of mankind through the movement of opposites in thinking in the mind of an artist, but the process of

expressing the subjective as the objective through the violent "struggle" of the subjective with the objective. This is a naked theory of creation of subjective idealism. We do not reject expression, for art always must express thought and feeling. But once the process of reflecting objective life in the subjective is cut away, the subjective is taken as the point of departure of "the process of creation," and the process of art creation is described as the expression of the subjective as the objective, then the sole origin of life and artistic life is obliterated, the need to go deep into life, to know the workers, peasants and soldiers well and to study the objective world is rejected, and the 'necessity of ideological remolding is completely negated. Historical experience tells us that the process of promoting creation is "the sharp conflict and antagonism between subjectivity and objectivity," the conquest of objectivity with the subjective will, and in practice will become self-expression, the distortion of objective reality with the fanatic subjective world of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, and the distortion of the struggle of the revolutionary people and their heroic spiritual features with frantic "self-expansion," thus giving rise to works that come into sharp conflict with objective realities.

We are not unfamiliar with this theory and its practice of creation, and had thoroughly criticized it in 1955 to keep many people sober: Practice shows that we must proceed from the revolutionary practice of life and scientific knowledge, and from integrating the thoughts and feelings of the writers with. those of the workers, peasants and soldiers before we can distinguish which of our. "subjective" ideas can reflect the life of the workers, peasants and soldiers and their thoughts and feelings and what "subjective" ideas are the thoughts of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie and would distort the life of the workers, peasants and soldiers and their thoughts and feelings, and create works which reflect the great era of today.

Freedom is the understanding of the inevitability. Since works of self-expansion of this kind come into conflict with the law of inevitability of the development of society, how can there be "freedom" to speak of? And how can there be "absolute freedom" to speak of? In history, the shady works which were written under the

guidance of the theories "the struggle of the subjective with the objective" and "the embrace of the objective by the subjective" have been opposed and exposed by the masses of the people because they come into sharp conflict with the revolutionary realities. Doesn't this show that in the socialist society those who insist on expressing the subjective ideas of the bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie in the objective cannot have the freedom of scientific significance?

Mr. Chou's "realm of absoluteness" based upon "the oneness of subjectivity and objectivity" and "the complete fusion as one" of egoism and the object is not a new creation of his. The bourgeois idealist philosophers of the West have long preached it. Arthur Schopenhauer suggested that aestheticism is the identity of the subjective and the objective, the entry of the subject and the object, united as one, into "the realm of selflessness," the complete fusion of subjectivity and objectivity, and the inability to distinguish "which is I and which are things." In Henri Bergson's intuitionism and anti-rationalism, the "implanting" of the subjective into the "fusion" of the subjective and the objective is also considered as the highest realm or the "state of absoluteness."

Bergson holds that the scientific method can only "move circuitously at the periphery of the object" and "stay at the sphere of relativity," and only anti-rational intuition can "attain the sphere of absoluteness" and "enter into the object." This "sphere of absoluteness" is "to attribute an inner thing, that is "the so-called mental state, to a thing in motion. At the same time, I also hint that I am fused with this state, and through imagination, implant myself into them." (*Introduction to Metaphysics*, page 1.) Is there not some resemblance between this and Mr. Chou's "from the realm of science to the realm of art," and "from the differential realm to the absolute realm?" Does not Mr. Chou also consider the purely sensory "absolute realm" as the highest realm, and hold that ration ("realm of science") is the lowest stage of cognitional activity? The difference lies only in that Bergson does not cover up his intuitionism of subjective idealism which calls for the "implanting" of one's own subjectivism into objectivism, while Mr. Chou refuses to admit straightforwardly that

he is an idealist, and wants to disguise his viewpoint as "what Chairman Mao has taught us."

I cannot say that Mr. Chou is a Bergsonian. However, it is a fact that Mr. Chou's philosophical ideas are connected in a thousand and one ways with these bourgeois idealists on some important problems. This fact calls our attention to the fact that it is very necessary for our academic circle to criticize and expose further the diverse reactionary ideas of the bourgeoisie of the West.

Conclusion

The whole content of Mr. Chou's view on contradiction calls for the reconciliation and abolition of contradictions. When things are obviously in a changing state, Mr. Chou uses the theory of "convergence" to set the various contradictions and the two aspects of the contradiction side by side, reconcile them, and make the two aspects of a contradiction never give rise to a change through the overcoming of one aspect by another aspect. He rejects the transformation and leap of things at the stage of qualitative change, and rejects that the overcoming of decadent things by new-born things is the inevitable outcome of struggle within the contradiction. When things are in a state or relative rest, Mr. Chou uses the theory of "realm of no difference" to abolish contradiction. He rejects the contradiction and struggle of things at the stage of quantitative change and the universality of contradiction. He distorts "relative rest" as the disappearance of all contradictions, and attempts to stop absolutely the development of things. Although he also pays lip service to the "unity of opposites," yet he castigates in effect the revolutionary content of the law of the unity of opposites, and distorts the article "On Contradiction." When he uses this philosophical viewpoint to analyze the phenomena of history, life and literature and art, he draws up a series of erroneous conclusions which run counter to the law of development of things and are in conflict with the militant tasks of the revolutionary class and revolutionary art.

Doesn't Mr. Chou want to "analyze facts?" However, he has, in fact, never seriously analyzed facts with a scientific attitude. Mr. Chou denounces me for practicing "abstract generalization." As he sees it, "facts" and "abstract generalization" are entirely opposite things. When he talks about "analysis of facts," he never means to say that a conclusion based upon inherent but not hypothetical laws should be drawn from the sum total of the facts analyzed. He just cuts out at random some so-called "facts" like "from a hard life to an easy life," "from tension to relaxation," "a sleeping infant," "a ball-playing child," etc., to make up his hypothesis of "realm of no difference." In answer to such a subjectivist attitude, it is enough for me to quote the following words from Lenin:

> If facts are grasped from the sum total of facts and the connection of facts, they are not only 'things stronger than eloquence,' but also things supported by conclusive evidence. If facts are not grasped from the sum total and connection of facts but are fragmentary and picked at random, then such facts can only be or are no better than play-games. ("Statistics and Sociology," *Collected Works of Lenin*, Vol. XXIII, page 279.)

Mr. Chou holds that the articles of other people "are problematical from beginning to end," while his own articles are correct "from beginning to end." However, truth cannot be proved with captious argument. All academic contention will be tested in the revolutionary practice of the masses, and whether a thing is true or false will be distinguished in the end. I want to give Mr. Chou some sincere advice: It is hoped that you will be able to have a better understanding of the realities of the revolutionary movement, creative art and literature and historical development of today, and give thought to what kind of world outlook has your own view on contradiction reflected. In this way, you will probably find from your own articles which you consider to be absolutely correct "from beginning to end" the contents which are worthy of criticism and must be criticized.

THE THEORY THAT CAUSES THE DETERIORATION OF SOCIALIST LITERATURE AND ART (1964)

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What to praise and what to oppose is the basic problem in determining the class character of literature and art. Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out this truism shrewdly to all literary and art workers: "If you are a bourgeois writer or artist, you will not praise the proletariat but will praise the bourgeoisie; if you are a proletarian writer or artist, you will not praise the bourgeoisie but will praise the proletariat and the laboring people: you must be one of either." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art")

Whether to praise heroic characters among the revolutionary worker, peasant and soldier masses or to praise decadent images of the bourgeoisie, this is the watershed between proletarian and bourgeois artists and the touchstone with which to distinguish socialist literature and art and bourgeois literature and art.

The theory of "writing about intermediate characters" as advocated by Comrade Shao Ch'uan-lin is where they have, on the basic question as what to praise and what to oppose, contravened Mao Zedong's direction for literature and art, departed from the basic line of proletarian literature and art and embarked on the bourgeois literary and art line. They try every means to oppose, weaken and exclude proletarian heroic characters that should be praised by socialist literature and art with the greatest fervor; in the meantime, they also try to uphold, enhance and strengthen adroitly the bourgeois and petty bourgeois characters and the status of bourgeois ideology and sentiments in literature and art. According to the line designed by them, it would be necessary for socialist literature and art to change what should be criticized into what should be praised, while what should be praised would have to be weakened and opposed. In so doing, it is tantamount to taking out the class contents and

revolutionary soul from socialist literature and art so that such literature and art will completely lose their revolutionary militancy and deteriorate into revisionist literature and art which is also bourgeois literature and art under the cloak of "socialism."

Some literary and art workers have once been misled by the theory of "writing about intermediate characters" or have been influenced by this erroneous theory in their creations. Some of them think that to advocate the "writing of intermediate characters" is for the sake of "diversification" and "to reflect the reality more profoundly." This deviates completely from the basic stand of Marxism. Comrade Mao Zedong says: "In observing anything, we must see its substance and regard its phenomenon as a guide to enter it; once we have entered it, we must grasp its substance. This is the only reliable scientific method of analysis (*Hsing-hsing chih Huo, K'o-I Liao-yuan*). In regard to the various theories and advocacies in literature that are antagonistic to socialist revolution, what we should see is not what excuses they use superficially, but what class stand and interests they manifest substantively and what class wishes and demands they reflect under a specific situation of class struggle. To analyse "what to praise and what to oppose is a scientific methodology with which to expose and recognize the class substance in advocating the theory of "writing about intermediate characters."

In the following, we wish to proceed from the basic problem of "what to praise and what to oppose" in analysing the results from the advocacy of "writing about intermediate characters" as well as to expose its motives and substances from these results.

"Writing about Intermediate Characters" Will Obliterate and Negate the Objects of Praise in Socialist Literature and Art

Proletarian and socialist literature and art form one of the spiritual weapons for the proletariat to transform the world. In order to use this weapon to destroy the old world and build a new world and in view of the fact that it can really yield tremendous material strength in serving proletarian politics at all stages, we must naturally praise the great

struggle of the worker, peasant and soldier masses who are striving to transform the world according to the proletarian direction, we must reflect the great strength of the proletariat and the revolutionary people in transforming the world and we must apply the thorough-going revolutionary spirit of the proletariat to rally, educate and encourage the people to struggle for realizing the great ideal of Communism. However, in order to truly praise the worker, peasant and soldier masses, it is necessary to proceed from practical life and after the processes of generalization, concentration, exemplification and idealization, we must sculpt the glorious images of advanced personages and heroic characters among the worker, peasant and soldier masses. This is one of the most honorable tasks that history has given to socialist literature and art.

The history of proletarian literature and art is also the history in which the worker, peasant and soldier masses strive to express themselves in literature and art; it is also the history in which the proletarian heroic characters enter the arena of literature and art to replace the ladies and gentlemen of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie as well as the feudal emperors, kings, generals, prime ministers, scholars and beauties; it is also the history in which proletarian heroes will gradually seize the front of literature and art.

This is a history that is full of violent class struggle. It is a combat history of "who vanquishes whom." This is the history in which one must wage an intransigent struggle with the reactionary inclination of praising bourgeois ideology and sentiments in each step forward. From the polemics of "writing about petty bourgeoisie" in 1949 to the polemics of "writing about intermediate characters" in 1964, the numerous struggles concerning creative ideology have been concerned with the question as whether to praise heroic characters among the worker, peasant and soldier masses or the bourgeois and petty bourgeois characters and who should constitute the main characters in literature and art.

What kind of people are heroic characters among the worker, peasant and soldier masses whom we have mentioned here? They are none other than the workers, poor and lower middle peasants who

form the greatest majority in the population, the most advanced and conscientious segment of the revolutionary warriors, and the advanced elements among the laboring people who have concentratedly and exemplarily displayed their socialist and proletarian awareness. They also include revolutionary cadres and revolutionary leaders who have led the workers, peasants and soldiers to launch overwhelming struggles. They were born in the fierce fire of revolutionary struggle and have loyally contributed their energies to push the revolution, thereby opening the way for the victory of socialist new things and the Communist enterprise. Such characters represent the interests and demands of the masses as well as the direction of the march of time, thus substantively realizing the strength of the revolutionary class. To praise them is also to praise the masses, the revolutionary people who account for some 90 per cent of the population, and the new era of socialism.

Such characters are by no means individual and few today. Socialism has enabled the laboring people to gain their new status as masters of the state. They have launched the struggle for social reform and the transformation of nature on an unprecedentedly large scale. Thus, there are bound to be thousands of heroic characters who dare to struggle and are adept in winning victory. They are bound to emerge from the various fronts of struggle. Chairman Mao's flamboyant poem that "the 600 million of people in Shen-chou [China] are all like Yao and Shun" [great emperors in Chinese history] and "there are heroes everywhere when the smog of dusk rises" paints a grandiose picture of the heroes among the revolutionary people in the socialist era. In the course of their struggle to transform the objective world, the worker, peasant and soldier masses have also transformed their own spiritual world. From a long-range view, there is every possibility for the worker, peasant and soldier masses advanced personages with proletarian awareness under the education of the party and they must endeavor and are endeavoring along this direction. In sculpting the images of advanced characters, it is not merely to exemplarily generalize the spiritual look of advanced elements who are replete with proletarian awareness but also to reflect the direction and road of

forward march for the broad people during the entire historic period of socialism, thus conveying the substance of the spiritual look of the revolutionary class as well as the substance of socialist social system. This is then the profound meaning in sculpting the images of heroic characters.

Those who advocate "writing about intermediate characters" would say: Among the people "there are relatively fewer good people and bad people." "Characters of an intermediate status form the majority and so one should write about their rich and complex spiritual conditions." This fallacious conclusion basically obliterates and negates the objects of praise in socialist literature and art.

First, they use the concept of "intermediate characters" that they have created themselves to replace class concept. On the question of what to praise and what to oppose in literature and art, the only correct course to follow is to proceed from class analysis. What class shall we praise? It is the revolutionary class which pushes history to move forward. What kind of people can best convey the substance of the spiritual look of the revolutionary class? They are the advanced personages and heroic characters among the revolutionary class. They are also the heroic characters among workers who represent the revolutionary qualities of the working class from different aspects as well as the heroic characters among the poor and lower middle peasants who represent the revolutionary qualities of the broad revolutionary peasants from different aspects. This reason is very simple and clear. From a class viewpoint, the truly "broad" and the "great majority" are the two revolutionary classes of workers and the poor and lower middle peasants, including revolutionary warriors who defend their class interests and revolutionary cadres who lead them in waging their struggle, but are by no means the so-called "intermediate characters." It is the heroic characters with the greatest awareness in the revolutionary class who can truly represent the substance of the spiritual look of the "greatest majority" of revolutionary people and who can basically realize the invincible strength of the revolutionary people, but it is by no means the so-called "intermediate characters." In creating such truthful and idealistic heroic characters, it is by no

means the so-called "one model for each class." Because of different working conditions, ways of life and experiences of struggle, heroic personages who have similarly manifested revolutionary qualities of the proletariat can also have varying characters and individualities. If we will compare Chiang Chieh with Hsu Yun-feng and Li Shuang-shuang with Chao Wu-shen, a clear answer will be found. To regard the "majority of people" as "intermediate characters" that are "neither good nor bad" and to equate good people with bad people and say that they form only "a few," this is to negate the class substance of the revolutionary class, to negate revolutionary class awareness, to negate the class basis of proletarian dictatorship, to negate the great strength of the people, thereby smudging the faces of millions of laboring people who are gallantly developing socialism.

Second, they use the ambiguous phrase of "diverse rich and complex spiritual conditions" to replace class spiritual status. After the cloak of "complexity" is discarded, it will be seen that substantively speaking, there are two kinds of the most important "spiritual status" in socialist society, namely: proletarian ideology and sentiment and bourgeois ideology and sentiment. Petty bourgeois ideology is also one form of bourgeois world outlook. When one purposely uses "complex spiritual conditions" to conceal class spiritual status which is patently clear, it is merely to camouflage bourgeois ideology. The work we must do is called "developing the proletariat and eliminating the bourgeoisie" which means also using the proletarian world outlook to educate the people to weed out the influences of bourgeois world outlook. We also advocate singing praises for the rich spiritual world of the proletariat. When the myth of their so-called "diverse rich and complex spiritual conditions" is exploded, it means only that they are manifestations of "diverse" degrees and forms under the erosion of bourgeois ideology and by no means something mysterious. To massively convey this "rich and complex spiritual condition" is synonymous with the massive reflection of bourgeois ideology and sentiment. In order that we may develop proletarian ideology, forge proletarian revolutionary qualities and praise proletarian ideology and sentiment, the most important thing is that we must energetically

sculpt heroic characters who can abundantly and vividly reveal this kind of spiritual status in order to enlighten and stimulate the people so that they will be moved and educated by it and use it as a weapon to distinguish and weed out bourgeois ideology. Nevertheless, according to the theory of "writing about intermediate characters, one has to massively reveal the so-called "rich and complex" spiritual conditions which means also the diverse spiritual conditions of the bourgeoisie to replace and squeeze out the spiritual status of proletarian heroic characters. What can this be if it is not the perverted view of "developing the bourgeoisie and eliminating the proletariat?"

How could they be so absurd as to say that among the people "both good people and bad people are relatively few?" Would not this mean the cancellation of revolutionary demands and revolutionary qualities among workers, peasants and soldiers? Is not this a complete negation of the possibility and necessity of fully relying on and mobilizing the masses? Is not this a stereotyped reiteration of the extremely decadent bourgeois nihilism and humanism that "all the crows are black?" This is not only erroneous when it is applied to the present, but also when it is applied to any historic period. This anti-people's discourse reflects the attempt of the bourgeoisie to use its own sinister psychology to falsify the spiritual look of the proletariat. It also betrays that those who advocate "writing about intermediate characters" have completely lost their confidence in the great strength of the worker, peasant and soldier masses.

If the formula devised by those who advocate the theory of "writing about intermediate characters" is followed, then the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers will be completely squeezed out from the field of literature and art; the sinister and petty images of the so-called "intermediate characters" will occupy a dominant position; what is massively manifested will be the "rich and complex" spiritual conditions which is also the spiritual status which is fraught with bourgeois ideology and sentiment. In this way, our literature will be deteriorated from a revolutionary proletarian literature into a reactionary bourgeois literature, thus becoming "rich and complex"

spiritual conditions which is also the instrument of bourgeois spiritual status used to corrode the people.

This is an inevitable law of development for the theory of "writing about intermediate characters" per se.

"Writing About Intermediate Characters" Will Uphold and Exalt Bourgeois Status

What kind of people are ideal "intermediate characters" to those who advocate the theory of "writing about intermediate characters?"

Their typical definition is that "intermediate characters" are "the middle-of-the-road masses" who are neither good nor bad and both good and bad. These characters have some "sinister psychology" as well as some "spiritual burdens," they may have passed through some "distressful process" and "agonizing process," but will insist on their mistakes to the very end "without solving their problems."

If we will analyse with class viewpoint these characters whom they have so sympathetically advocated, the following aspects will be revealed clearly:

First, this kind of character is extremely vulgar. They are the "innumerable masses" who are opposed to the great enterprise of transforming the world that is undertaken by the revolutionary people. The very semantic shows that the most interesting people in the eyes of those who advocate "writing about intermediate characters" are individualists who have lost their revolutionary zeal and progressive demands.

Second, the spiritual look of this kind of character is "sinister" and is opposed to the revolutionary optimism cherished by the broad revolutionary people in socialist society. In their heart is a deep-seated and firmly concealed exploitative world outlook. They cherish this "sinister" psychology because they regard the optimistic people in the socialist society with great enmity.

Third, this kind of character is fraught with "spiritual burdens." This is to say that he has been so terrifically pressured by bourgeois reactionary ideology that he could no longer think clearly. Instead of using the expression that such people have been "subjected to the erosion of bourgeois ideology," they prefer to use such semantics as "spiritual burden." This shows those who advocate the theory of "writing about intermediate characters" are full of sympathy for the spiritual status of this kind of character.

Fourth, this kind of character usually follows a "distressful process." In their lives, socialist revolution and construction have left the stamp of "agony," thereby awakening their "agonizing" feelings. It is only those people whose class interests are opposed to the interests of the people who form 90 per cent of the population that will feel "agonies" when the people's enterprises are forging ahead victoriously. Even to the very last, they will not be able to "solve" this kind of agony.

Are such characters the "broad" poor and lower middle peasants? No, poor and lower middle peasants constitute the revolutionary class. They have suffered the most in the old society; they cherish the warmest love for the socialist collective and the deepest hatred toward capitalist influences; they are firmly revolutionary. To call the process of organizing the poor and lower middle peasants to create a happy new life as "distressful process" is the greatest insult to these peasants. How can one call the revolutionary road that has been firmly treaded by such characters as Liang Sheng-pao, Kao Tseng-fu and Feng Yu-wan in *Ch'uang-yeh-shih* as a "distressful process?" Is not this a distortion of fact by calling white as black?

Are such characters truly in an "intermediate status" temporarily? No, they are not. Characters who remain temporarily in an intermediate status will eventually disintegrate toward the two extremes. The vast majority of people will gradually weed out and overcome the erosion and influences of bourgeois ideology on themselves by enhancing their proletarian awareness and heading toward progress; there will be few who will be "won over" by the

exploitative class and become degenerated. In the case of those who remain temporarily in an intermediate status and who will make advancement through struggle, education and help, they are basically not the so-called "innumerable masses" that are neither good nor bad, but are good people with varying degrees of flaws who can overcome their setbacks to achieve progress. This is basically not a "distressful process," but is the process of accepting truth through ideological struggle. What they have in their ideology is not that they will permanently insist on their bourgeois world outlook and refuse to solve their problems. On the other hand, they will solve their contradictions through struggle. The struggle between proletarian world outlook and bourgeois world outlook in their ideology is bound to produce agony. However, after the proletarian world outlook has triumphed, their psychology became clear, optimistic and buoyant and would by no means remain "sinister" to the end. There are many people who have gradually become proletarianized by overcoming their setbacks through struggle. There are people like Chao Ta-ch'uan among peasants and Ou-yang Chun among technicians. Their spiritual world basically differs with that of the so-called "intermediate characters" who would never solve their contradictions. With the assistance of the party and comrades and after solemn ideological struggle, they have finally solved their varying degrees of bourgeois ideology, resolved their contradictions and advanced with the others. There are also bound to be some who will use their granite brains to resist truth and antagonize the proletariat and will not be able "to solve their problems" even to the end. However, they are no longer the characters who remain in an intermediate status. In our life (including the rank and file of the laboring people), there are many who are beset with such flaws and are being enhanced by the steeling in the revolutionary furnace. In keeping with the principle of handling contradictions among the people, we must proceed from the wish of solidarity. After undergoing such diverse forms of struggle as criticism, education and enlightenment, we must truly but not spuriously resolve the contradiction between proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology in order to achieve new solidarity on a new basis.

This is also the law in which people in real life and the characters in literature and art can gradually realize proletarianization. It is also completely different from what is hoped by those who advocate "writing about intermediate characters" from the "innumerable masses that are neither good nor bad."

According to those who advocate the theory of "writing about intermediate characters," the so-called "intermediate characters" are "backward characters who have some setbacks though they belong to the laboring masses." It will be seen that this is their tactic to deceive others. From the standpoint of the substance of the spiritual world of such characters as depicted by those who advocate the theory of "writing about intermediate characters," they are persons who have the sinister psychology of the decadent class; they cherish the viewpoint of the exploitative class in interpreting the bright socialist new society; they insist on treading the capitalist road and adopting the bourgeois individualist way of life to oppose socialist collectivized life; finally, they will insist on their "sinister" psychology and refuse to be converted to the socialist direction. Such people comprise either the bourgeois elements in socialist society or those among the revolutionary ranks and the laboring people whose ideology and sentiment have already deteriorated.

In the final analysis, the spiritual status that is distinguished by such characteristics as being "sinister" or "agonizing" is one of the exploitative class that has been defeated by the people's revolution in the class struggle and is being thoroughly eliminated now. Comrade Mao Zedong points out: In regard to the overthrow of reactionaries, "such as the Kuomintang reactionaries who are being overthrown by us and Japanese imperialism that has been overthrown by us and the people of other nations, from the standpoint of those who are overthrown, it is painful and unthinkable." ("On People's Democratic Dictatorship") It is only to the landlords and the owners of slaves who have been overthrown by the people's revolution and the bourgeoisie who have been overthrown by socialist revolution that they will feel that their life is a "distressful process." However, to the broad revolutionary people in China, they are passing through the great

process of a victorious combat in transforming the objective and subjective world through class struggle and there is basically no such thing as "agonizing process." The emphasis of those who advocate the theory of "writing about intermediate characters" on sympathetically depicting the "agonizing process" and "sinister psychology" as well as those who have "spiritual burdens" can only mean that they innately sympathize with and support the bourgeoisie in socialist society that has been overthrown but not yet eliminated.

The purpose of those who advocate the theory of "writing about intermediate characters" is to don the cloak of "laboring people" under the camouflage of "intermediate characters" on this kind of bourgeois elements and those whose heart has been influenced by the bourgeoisie, especially the nascent bourgeois elements, and push them into the arena of socialist literature. In this way, it will be possible to regard the objects that have been exposed and struck by socialist literature and the ideology that has been criticized as objects for sympathy and protection under the banner of "intermediate characters" so that their poisons of bourgeois ideology and sentiment may harm the people under the cloak of the "laboring people."

The class look of "intermediate characters" as designed by those who advocate the theory of "intermediate characters" is that while they wear the clothes of the laboring people, they have the soul of bourgeoisie.

Are there such people in the literary and art works who appear in the form of "intermediate characters" but who are really bourgeois elements or people with bourgeois souls, thereby seriously distorting the laboring people? There are. In *Pei-kuo Chiang-nan*, Tung Tzu-chang is a rural capitalist element under the cloak of "intermediate character." *Yin-hua in Pei kuo Chiang-nan* is an "ideal character" that has been designed by the author with his bourgeois world outlook. Nevertheless, this person is truly an "intermediate character." In her every action is permeated the flavor of bourgeois humanism. The bourgeois theory of class conciliation forms the core of her character. Hsiao Chien-ch'iu in *Tsao-ch'un Erh-yueh* has also been depicted by the author as an "intermediate character" and the author has also

created a spurious ending for him. Nevertheless, this thorough hypocrite is by no means the image of an intellectual who has gradually reformed himself through revolutionary struggle and by aligning himself with the workers, peasants and soldiers. He is merely a deserter who stubbornly holds to his bourgeois individualist world outlook, who wavers in the midst of revolutionary tide and who jeopardizes the interests of the laboring people to satisfy his own vicious aspirations. A false predatory bourgeois humanism forms the core of his character. From these "intermediate characters" who have been embellished and praised, it would seem that the ultimate purpose of those who advocate the theory of "intermediate characters" is not to depict the ideological process of the characters who remain temporarily in an intermediate status in forging toward progress, but is merely to utilize this form in order to import the ideology and sentiments of the exploitative class, embellish the world outlook of that class and distort and cancel the revolutionary images of the laboring people so that the bourgeois elements and bourgeois ideology may occupy a dominant position in the sphere of literature under the cover of "intermediate characters."

Bourgeoisie forms the main object of socialist revolution. Although the task of socialist revolution is to firmly oppose all exploitative classes, nevertheless, as the main historic task of this revolutionary stage, it is necessary to oppose the bourgeoisie and eliminate the political, economic and ideological bases of capitalist restoration. It behooves our literature and art to intensively reflect the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the process of struggle in which the proletariat has vanquished the bourgeoisie in various areas, and effectively strike at the various activities of bourgeois restoration. At present, such works as these are still too few. There are still works that embellish capitalist elements and bourgeois life. The theory of "writing about intermediate characters" is a tool and protective color which embellish capitalist elements and bourgeois ideology. It enables some of the characters and ideology that should be firmly criticized to become things for conciliation and protection. This is bound to oppose the revolutionary dialectics of

dividing one into two and merge with Chou Ku-ch'eng's "theory of convergence." This theory is a stumbling block to the revolutionization of socialist literature and art which must be removed.

In the two-way struggle between socialism and capitalism, the bourgeoisie would often adopt the method of disguising as "intermediate characters" and even "progressive personages" to worm their way into the laboring people in order to disintegrate and corrode, thereby usurping the powers of political leadership. This is an important form of class struggle which they use to attack the proletariat. They use the method of "worming in" in order to achieve the goal of "taking over to their side." They use the tactic of gradual corrupting so that one may become gray first and black later. "Writing about intermediate characters" is the reflection of this form of class struggle in literary and art ideology and in the sphere of literary and artistic creations. Realizing that they will be immediately boycotted if they openly hoist the banner of bourgeois literature and art and openly advocate the cancelling of the images of workers, peasants and soldiers, those who wish to tread the bourgeois line of literature and art would therefore utilize the form of "intermediate characters" to peddle bourgeois wares. This is to enable them to surreptitiously bring in what is called by bourgeois literature as "exposure of the unseemly side," what the revisionist literature and art call "small characters" and Hu Feng's extremely reactionary theory of the "hurt of spiritual enslavement," thereby using the sinister images and ideology of the exploitative class to seize the power of leadership in socialist literature and art. They also use the shingle of "intermediate characters" to paralyze the vigilance of literary and art workers so that those who lack firm revolutionary resolve, those who wish to avoid coordination with the workers, peasants and soldiers in order to take a "short cut" and those who lack the arming of Marxist ideology may be allured and intoxicated by "intermediate characters" and become willing to abandon their praise of the worker, peasant and soldier masses, of heroic characters, and of the revolutionary literary and art line of

socialism in order to embark on the erroneous road of praising the bourgeoisie.

This is a serious class struggle in the sphere of literature and art where the situation of class struggle is more aggravated!

"Writing About Intermediate Characters" is an Idealist and Metaphysical Theory

In ascertaining what to praise and what to oppose in socialist literature and art, it is based on the principle of historical materialism. As Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out in criticizing *Wu Hsun Chuan*, historical progress is based on the use of new things to replace old things. What we should study consist of "the new social and economic forms, new class strength, new personalities and new ideology which struggle with the old social and economic forms and their superstructures (politics, culture, etc.) in order to decide what should be admired and praised, what should not be admired and praised, and what should be opposed." (Mao Zedong, *On Literature and Art*)

In socialist society, what are the new classes, personages and ideology that will wage a resolute struggle with the old capitalist economics and its superstructures—capitalist political influences and bourgeois ideology, culture, morality, etc. Such a class is the proletariat that has obtained political power and the poor and lower middle peasants under the leadership of the proletariat; such personalities are the thoroughly revolutionary heroic characters and advanced personages among the worker, peasant and soldier masses; such ideology is the proletarian world outlook which is also the ideology of socialism and Communism. It behooves us to energetically create the images of heroic characters; their struggle to transform the world according to the direction of the proletariat must be exalted into the first. This is the revolutionary direction determined by the objective laws of historical development. It is only thus that socialist literature and art will truly serve the revolutionary strength in socialist society, that it will effectively push the progress of history, that it will accelerate the revolutionary process in which the new

things of socialism and Communism will vanquish the old things of capitalism.

Since those who advocate the theory of "writing about intermediate characters" take the psychological stand of praising the decadent class, the reasons they use to present and uphold their theory cannot but be idealistic and metaphysical.

They say that "intermediate characters" form a majority while heroic characters are a minority and so it is necessary to write more about "intermediate characters" and less about heroic characters.

This is a typical idealist and metaphysical viewpoint. Historical materialism tells us that what one should write more in literature does not depend on the number of a specific category of people superficially, but one must see what kind of people represent the interest of the broad revolutionary people, who represent the direction of the march of times and what strength constitutes the new things that truly accelerate the progress of history. If one does not proceed from the substance of things in society but proceed merely from the quantity of things superficially in deciding what should be praised and depicted, this is to basically exclude and suppress the new things that are sprouting and growing in order to protect the old things which still exist extensively. They have obliterated the revolutionary truism that "a spark of fire can burn out an entire field. "As we all know, the typical manifestation of metaphysics is that it regards all things in the world as being" permanently isolated mutually and permanent unchanging; if there is any change, this is only the change of quantity and scene. ("On Contradiction") Those who advocate the theory of "writing about intermediate characters" take the view that there are only quantitative distinctions between various class strengths and diverse types of characters. They deny that there is any difference in class substance, between new things and old things, between the grasping of truth and violation of truth and between revolution and non-revolution. They also regard this quantity as something which is permanently isolated and in a state of unchanging tranquility rather than the process of development and transmutation in a struggle, a process in which the revolutionary strength will gradually mount in a

devious struggle, a process in which the masses will enhance their awareness and revolutionization in the tumult of struggle, thus completely obliterating the leadership functions of the revolutionary vanguards. According to the inference of this theory, since members of the Communist party form a minority among the Chinese people, would not it be necessary then to curb and exclude the depicting of the images of the party members. Since there were only a very few party members when the Chinese Communist party was founded in 1921, would not it be necessary to basically omit writing about the "few" Communists in depicting the history of that period? Is not it then a very obvious bourgeois advocacy for the exclusion of revolutionary strength?

They say that "writing about intermediate characters" is to bring about the "intensification of realism" and to increase "depth" in reflecting realities.

How can one talk about the so-called "depth" in the reflection of realties when heroic characters and the workers, peasants and soldiers are negated and the so-called "intermediate characters" are regarded as the main objects of expression? What we say about reality is the overwhelming changes in which the broad revolutionary people are transforming the world, especially the glorious history of world reform through class struggle. It is not the self-enjoyment of a handful of individualists. When the revolutionary spirit of the masters of realistic life—the workers, peasants and soldiers—is negated, how can there be any "depth" to speak of? When an ant crawls into a hornet's nest, it will exclaim: "See how deep I am!" Can the "depth" of this hornet's nest be compared with the vastness of the lives of workers, peasants and soldiers? Historical idealists would always regard realistic life apart from class struggle and apart from the struggles of the masses. They basically do not understand or recognize that in order to truly and profoundly reflect reality, it is necessary to intensively reflect the substance and mainstream of the process of history through the exemplification of real life. It is also necessary to reflect the spiritual strength of the people and the victory of the revolutionary spirit and ideal of nascent things, thereby achieving the goal of

effectively accelerating the progress of history. This is not the intensification of nonessential partial phenomena in that the greater is the "depth," the farther away it will be from the profound reflection of realities. The advocates of the theory of "writing about intermediate characters" say that one should "write about what one is familiar with." This is to entice those who are "familiar" only with the petty lives of intellectuals and the small citizenry to deviate from and abandon the workers, peasants and soldiers in order to seek "depth" in the "sinister" hornet's nest of "intermediate characters." This kind of "intensification of realism" which forsakes revolutionary ideals and revolutionary masses is a kind of crawling "realism" which belongs to vulgarians and it is bound to cause one's creations to embark on the road of naturalism and vulgarism.

They say that since "intermediate characters" have the greatest educational significance to other "intermediate characters" and "the majority of people" are intermediate persons, thus it is necessary to massively write about "intermediate characters."

As has been said before, their theory that "intermediate characters constitute a great majority" is spurious and untenable. As to the problem of educational significance, their viewpoint is also one of metaphysics. What are the educational functions of literary works? Basically speaking, this is to use socialist and Communist ideology to educate the people, and to help them enhance their proletarian awareness and abandon their bourgeois ideology and sentiments, thereby transforming the world and remolding themselves in keeping with the proletarian direction. In order to enhance, it is necessary to set up the direction and goals of enhancement. It is also necessary to effectively set up positive heroic image images with one's own proletarian ideology and sentiments in order to educate the readers. Such an "enhancement" will not be in vain. Dialectical materialism tells us that people's ideological development is also the struggle of opposites. Model images of heroic characters represent positive strength with which to struggle with old things and old ideology. Once such an image has aroused the awareness of readers to emulate him, it would become a great source of strength to help the readers in

vanquishing their old ideology. The reason why Lei Feng's image has produced such tremendous educational and stimulating functions on the broad people, including those who are fraught with diverse ideological burdens is because Lei Feng's image itself has produced a positive force of acceleration which enables many people to self-consciously overcome their old ideology as a result of comparison.

Heroic characters advance and grow in the course of struggle. In writing about heroic characters, one must naturally write also about the opposites of heroic characters—negative characters and erroneous ideology. The latter form the opposites of advanced characters; they are either vanquished by advanced characters through struggle or accelerated by them through struggle. Heroic characters are those who have been steeled, enhanced and matured in diverse struggles, especially through class struggle. We do not deny that by exposing and attacking negative characters and by criticizing those who have committed errors, one can also exercise awakening and admonishing functions on those who have such errors or may develop such errors in their life. Nevertheless, it is only when an erroneous thing is compared with a correct thing that it will be possible to expose its mistake. It is only where positive heroic images have been set up saliently first that the readers will be enabled to recognize profoundly why an error has become an error. It is only thus that the substance of this kind of errors can be exposed, thereby enabling the readers to find the direction in which to rectify their errors as well as to encourage and enhance themselves positively. The lessons of creative practice tell us that if we will follow the line of "writing about intermediate characters" by using metaphysical viewpoint to exclude heroic characters and advanced personages and write only about "intermediate characters," then, it will not only be impossible to reveal the substance of errors, but we will also lack positive strength to overcome such errors. The works will be beset with darkness and gloominess in which negative characters will be rampant from beginning to end and people who are fraught with "spiritual burdens" will be wantonly undergoing the so-called "agonizing process." Are not such works the reactionary tendency of exposing the so-called

"sinister side?" Is not this the self-enjoyment and self-exposure of "petty characters" among the vulgar citizenry? Besides distorting reality and the laboring people and impairing revolutionary fervor, besides causing those who have ideological contradictions to become more confused and be content with their backward status, what other "educational significance" can this kind of depiction have?

The entire history of bourgeois critical realism illustrates that from the time the bourgeoisie began its period of decadence, it will never be able to create positive images or give positive stimulations to the people. The responsibility of creating contemporary revolutionary heroes has fallen into the hands of proletarian literature and art. The basic reason why proletarian literature has produced such great educational functions is because it has created the images of the pioneers, creators and defenders of the new world—the heroic characters among workers, peasants and soldiers. Nevertheless, among those who have been profoundly influenced by critical realism, they will always try to resurrect it whenever the opportunity arises. The advocates of "writing about intermediate characters" want to use "intermediate characters" to replace heroic characters; they want to use bourgeois critical realism to replace the coalition between revolutionary realism and revolutionary romanticism; they want to use the artistic ideology of such people as Dostoevski, Chekhov and Tolstoi to replace proletarian artistic ideology, thereby attempting to basically strike against the educational functions of proletarian literature and art and cancel the revolutionary soul of proletarian literature and art. This constitutes a form of capitalist restoration in the sphere of literature and art which merits our great vigilance.

Protect the Revolutionary Banner of Socialist Literature and Art

Comrade Mao Zedong points out: "We must insist on the truth, though this truth must be patently clear. We Communists have always regarded the concealment of our own viewpoints as shameful. In the newspapers sponsored by our party and in all kinds of propaganda work undertaken by our party, it must be vivid, clear and sharp,

without any equivocation. This is the combat style which our revolutionary proletariat must have." ("A Talk to the Editorial Staff of Chin-sui Jih-pao")

Socialist literature and art forms an important segment of the party's propaganda work; it behooves it to have this kind of clear banner and revolutionary combat style.

From the standpoint of creation, creating the images of heroic characters and creating the images of advanced personages among the workers, peasants and soldiers form the banner of our revolutionary socialist literature and art. They clearly manifest the objects of praise and service in our literature and art; they clearly reveal the basic characteristics that distinguish proletarian literature and art from the literature and art of all other classes; they clearly state the direction in which our literature and art lead people to move forward. From Pa-wei-erh Fu-la-so-fu and Pao-erh K'o-ch'a-chin to Ch'iung-hua, Chiang Chieh, Hsu Yun-feng, Liang Sheng-pao and Li Shuang-shuang, and from the first great proletarian battle hymn the "Internationale" to the resounding "East Is Red," the militant history and outstanding achievements of the entire proletarian literature and art of China and the world have produced huge revolutionary repercussions to the peoples of the world. This is inseparable from the creation of the magnificent images of the awakened workers, peasants and soldiers that are unprecedented in all literature and art; it is inseparable from the profound and magnificent manifestation of the combat process and heroic style of the proletariat and the revolutionary people. Heroic characters form the combat banner which stimulates the people to plunge themselves into the fervent struggle they are also the ideological banner which induces the people to recognize truth; they are also the forward banner which educates the people to remold themselves with proletarian ideology and sentiments. It behooves us to protect this banner and hoist it permanently in order to incessantly accelerate the progress of socialist literature and art.

The theory of "writing about intermediate characters" has, from an ideological standpoint, cancelled the banner of Mao Zedong's

ideology on literature and art; it has cancelled the banner of socialist and Communist ideology; it has also, from the standpoint of creation, cancelled the banner of proletarian heroic characters. Without the banner, one is bound to go astray and in so doing the character of socialist literature and art will be altered. If it does not take the socialist direction, it must be the capitalist direction, there is no such thing as an "intermediate" direction. In "writing about intermediate characters," it is to use the method of pulling away the revolutionary banner of heroic characters so that socialist literature and art will lose their salient socialist direction and become a hodgepodge of ingredients which befuddle one's brain. This will also cause socialist literature and art to become narcotics which "amuse the mind and please the eye" and are "dainty and relaxing," thereby disintegrating people's revolutionary will, as well as decorations which embellish and praise the "petty characters" who have lost their revolutionary resolve. There will begin from here a sharp turn towards the direction of capitalism, thereby deteriorating into the literature and art that sing the praise of capitalism. On the banner of "writing about intermediate characters" are also written "backward and reactionary characters" and "bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie." This is the road to which the advocates of "writing about intermediate characters" wish to lead socialist literature and art. This is the old road that capitalist literature and art have treaded for centuries. We will never allow our literature and art to embark on this road.

It is the militant task faced by the entire revolutionary literary and art workers to hoist proudly the bright revolutionary and proletarian banner of creating heroic characters and hurl down the bourgeois banner of "writing about intermediate characters" which attempts to cause the deterioration of socialist literature and art!

ON THE NEW HISTORICAL PLAY "DISMISSAL OF HAI JUI" (1965)

From *Marxists.org* which was transcribed from *Current Background*, no. 783

People's Daily Editor's Note

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan has published in Wen-hui Pao this article to make known his important critical views in regard to such an historical character as Hai Jui and the play *Dismissal of Hai Jui*.

We are of the opinion that the evaluation of Hai Jui and the play *Dismissal of Hai Jui* actually involve the problem of how to deal with historical characters and plays, what viewpoint should be adopted in the study of history, and what form of art should be used to reflect historical characters and events. On this problem, the views of our thinkers are at variance. This is because the problem has not been systematically debated and has not been correctly solved for a number of years.

This paper has also published in the past Comrade Wu Han's "Hai Jui Abuses the Emperor" (on June 16, 1959 under the pseudonym of Liu Mien-chih) and "On Hai Jui" (on September 21, 1959). It has also published articles on other historical characters concerned. We plan to start a debate on the play *Dismissal of Hai Jui* and other pertinent problems. Readers among historians, philosophers, and writers and artists are welcome to participate in this debate.

In his article "Talk at the National Conference on Propaganda Work of the Communist Parly of China," Comrade Mao Zedong has this to say:

> Our regime is a people's democratic regime which provides advantageous circumstances for writing for the people. The guideline of letting one hundred flowers bloom and one hundred schools of thought contend provides new guarantees for the development

> of science and art. If what you write is right, you need not be afraid of any criticism, but may further expound your correct views through debate. If what you write is wrong, then criticism will help you to rectify your error. There is nothing undesirable about that. In our society, revolutionary, fighting criticism and countercriticism is a good means of exposing and resolving contradictions, developing science and art, and properly doing all kinds of work.

We hope that through this debate, the contention of various kinds of views and their criticisms of each other can be further developed. Our guideline is that both the freedom of criticism and the freedom of countercriticism should be allowed. In regard to erroneous views, we also adopt the methods of reasoning and seeking truth from facts to convince people with reason. As Mao Tse-Mao Zedong has indicated, "We must learn to overcome all kinds of erroneous thinking by means of debate and reasoning." Comrade Mao Zedong has also said:

> This method may enable us to make fewer mistakes. There are many things which we do not know, and therefore we do not know how to solve them. During debate and struggle, we shall come to know these things and shall know how to solve problems. As a result of debate between different opinions, truth will unfold itself. This method may also be adopted in dealing with those poisonous, anti-Marxist things, because it will be possible to develop Marxism by waging struggle against those anti-Marxist things. This is development in the struggle of opposites, a development that conforms to dialectics.

Beginning in June 1959, Comrade Wu Han wrote a number of articles—including "Hai Jui Abuses the Emperor" and "On Hai Jui"—

in praise of Hai Jui, emphasizing again and again the "realistic significance" of studying Hai Jui.[7]

In 1961, he finished a Peking opera play called *Dismissal of Hai Jui* after making seven revisions, wrote a preface to it, and once again urged people to study the "good virtues" of Hai Jui. After the play was published and staged, it was widely praised by newspapers and periodicals. Some articles said that this play "is of great significance," and "leaves room for the audience to think about." They praised Hai Jui because "he was ashamed to be licorice root and dared to assume the role of Lord Pao of the South."[8] Some commentaries went to the extreme in praising Comrade Wu Han "as an historian, good at integrating historical research with participation in realistic struggle," and "using the tactics of making veiled criticism of contemporary people with ancient people, thus making the ancient serve the contemporary through historical research." They said that this play "has opened up a new way of making one's own historical research render better service to socialist realities and the people."[9] Some articles also said: "The extolment of 'honest, incorrupt officials' in plays functioned as a 'big-character poster' for educating the officials at that time."[10]

Since the play *Dismissal of Hai Jui* and its admirers have brought forward so important a problem and have widely publicized what they advocate, we cannot but study the play in real earnest.

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On The New Historical Play "Dismissal Of Hai Jui"

How is Hai Jui Molded in the Play *Dismissal of Hai Jui*?

[7] Wu Han's "On Hai Jui," *Jen-min Jih-pao*, 21 September 1959.
[8] "Be Ashamed To Be Licorice Root, Dare To Assume the Role of Lord Pao of the South," *Peking Wen-i*, March 1961.
[9] "On Dismissal of Hai Jui," *Peking Wen-i*, March 1961.
[10] "From Hai Jui to 'Plays Portraying Honest, Incorrupt Officials'," *Peking Wan-pao*, 23 June 1961.

In this historical play, Comrade Wu Han makes a perfect and noble character of Hai Jui was portrayed as "a person who had the people in mind in every place" and "was a savior of the oppressed, bullied, and wronged people."[11] In his person, you simply cannot find any shortcoming. It seems that he is the ideal character of the author. He not merely was the "savior" of the poor peasants in the Ming Dynasty, but is also an example for the Chinese people and cadres of the socialist era to learn from.

The author has gone to great pains to mold his own hero. Out of the nine acts in this play, he reserves three acts completely to portray this honorable official.

In the first and second acts—before Hai Jui comes into the scene—the play takes a lot of trouble to portray the House of Hsu—the family of Hsu Chieh who brought about the downfall of Yen Sung who was once the prime minister and was then leading a life of retirement. It tells how this family encroaches upon the land of the peasants, carries off the daughters of other people by force, and bribes the officials into beating poor peasant Chao Yti-shan to death. When peasant woman Hung Ah-lan "is appealing to Heaven for justice in her anguish," an urgent dispatch brings the news that Hai Jui has been appointed governor of the Ten Prefectures of Yingtien. To the exalted officials, this is a bolt from the blue. They cry in alarm: "What are we going to do?" Even the yamen underlings exclaim: "The Honorable Hai is coming. This is terrible."

In the third act, Hai Jui appears in plain clothes. The author portrays how Hai Jui personally listens to the "villagers who feel as if they were in the frying pan," who pay him their highest respects and tell him how they have prayed for his coming. They praise him for his "impartiality," "wise judgments," "high repute," and "good government."

Although in the feudal society "the world from top to bottom is under the sway of officials and there is no justice for those in the right but without money," yet the peasants who have been wronged

[11] Wu Han's "On Hai Jui," *Jen-min Jih-pao*, 21 September 1959.

unanimously believe that the "Honorable Hai" is an exception, and they think that "he can make decisions in their favor."

These tactics of forming a contrast seek to give the audience the strong feeling that only Hai Jui can alleviate the miseries of the peasants. It shows that the *Dismissal of Hai Jui* does not present "the internal struggle of the feudal ruling classes"[12] as the author claims but molds in every possible way for our audience today a hero who determines the destiny of the peasants.

The conflict of the play unfolds itself around the theme of "return of land." Although Comrade Wu Han says in the preface that the play "has been revised to take the suppression of despots as the main theme," yet in actuality, the seizure of land is the cause of all grievances, and the action "to suppress the despots" and "redress grievances" also centers on the "return of land." "Return of land" is portrayed as "a means to help the poor peasants"[13] and is also responsible for the dismissal of Hai Jui—the climax of the conflict in this play.

The play makes this special statement through "Villager A": "We are all tenants of the House of Hsu." It wants the audience to remember that it portrays the struggle between the poor peasants and the House of Hsu and other retired officials and corrupt officials, and that Hai Jui stands on the side of the tenants of the House of Hsu.

The Honorable Hai does not belie the hope of the public, and as soon as he assumes office, he "decides in favor of the people." He not only curses "the genuine sharp dealers who practice usury and take over land by force," and encourages the peasants "to make complaints" against them, but also displays a democratic spirit in court by finding out the opinions of "the elders" of the petitioners.

The peasants ask Lord Hai Jui to order the House of Hsu and the "families of retired officials" to return the seized land. So Hai Jui issues an order "requiring all families of retired officials to return

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[12] Introduction to *Dismissal of Hai Jui* in one volume, published by Peking Publishing House in November 1961, p. 7.

[13] Wu Han's "Story of Hai Jui," *Collected Works on Chinese History*, June 1963, 2nd edition, Chung Hua Book Company, p. 15.

within ten days all the land which they have seized from the law-abiding people."

After "the return of land," the sharp class contradictions abruptly cease to function. The "villagers" kowtow to Hai Jui and say: "Because the decisions of Your Honor are in favor of the people, the poor people south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River will see better days in the future."

The author makes the poor peasants express their "gratitude" and joy by "singing together" a sing in glorification of the honest, incorrupt official. They sing: "We see the blue sky today and must work diligently to rebuild our homes and gardens. With land we shall be properly fed and clothed and a good life will unfold before us."

The play tells people that although the feudal system is still intact and the ruthless oppression and exploitation of the landlords still exists, so long as we handle things in the same way as Hai Jui, the peasants' problems of "land" and "food and clothing" can also be solved, and "a good life" lies "before us."

The play also lays emphasis on portraying how Hai Jui "avenges the people" and executes the "corrupt officials" *en masse*. It gives repeated publicity to "the need of reopening misjudged cases," and Hai Jui's determination "to pacify the anger of the people." He wants to "sweep away all wicked officials" and "exercises no leniency in the enforcement of law to pacify the anger of the people." The actions he takes in the play include beheading Wang Ming-yu, magistrate of Huat'ing hsien; sentencing Sung-chiang Prefect Li P'ing-tu to "dismissal and imprisonment pending the receipt of the Imperial verdict"; and hanging Hsu Ying, son of Hsu Chieh.

In Comrade Wu Han's own words, so that "Hai Jui's departure will not present a dismal gloomy aspect, I decided to have Hsu Ying sentenced to death."[14] In this way, Hai Jui terminates his official career and becomes a hero who has triumphantly resisted the feudal Imperial Court.

At the end of the play, Hsu Ying is executed, Hsu Chieh faints away, and the new governor is thrown into consternation. But Hai Jui

[14] Wu Han's Preface to *Dismissal of Hai Jui* in one volume, p. vi.

holds high the official seal, stands erect, and declaims: "A virtuous man stands with his head reaching the sky and his feet on the earth." Inwardly, he tells himself: "I have triumphed."

The author has also "triumphantly" completed his task of molding his own hero.

In this play, only Hai Jui is the hero. The peasants can only air their grievances to their lord, beg "their lord to make decisions in their favor," and entrust their own destinies to the "Honorable Hai." In order to make the image of Hai Jui stand out against all other feudal officials, all the principal officials in the play are portrayed as bad characters. Hai Jui's wife and family dependents are wise people who want to protect themselves, and only his mother backs him up. Hai Jui goes it alone in making a great economic and political revolution.

After seeing this play, people strongly feel that this heroic image as molded by Comrade Wu Han is much greater than the image of Hai Jui which was portrayed by any operas and novels of the feudal age in the past. Although Comrade Wu Han has especially written some explanatory notes for inclusion in the play, published in a single volume, and has extracted a number of historical data from the story of *Dismissal of Hai Jui* itself in an attempt to give people the impression that he has written the play in complete accordance with historical facts, yet people still cannot help asking: Was there really such a hero among the ruling classes of the feudal society? Is this "Honorable Hai" just an artistic version of the real Hai Jui in history or just a fictitious character coined by Comrade Wu Han?

A False Hai Jui

We are not historians. But according to the data we have read, the historical contradictions and the class stand taken by Hai Jui in handling such contradictions—as portrayed in this play—are in contravention with historical realities. The Hai Jui in the play is only coined by Comrade Wu Han to give publicity to his own point of view. Hai Jui was the governor of Yingtien during the period from the summer of 1569 to the spring of 1570. At that time, the class

contradiction and the class struggle in the countryside south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River were very sharp. From the reign of Cheng-te through the reign of Chia-ching to the reign of Lung-ch'ing, with the landlord class frantically seizing land from the peasants in diverse ways, the concentration of land became higher and higher, and the peasants were more and more heavily exploited.

The Jihchihlu states: "Only one in ten of the people in middle Kiangsu owned land, and the other nine persons were tenants." This shows that the overwhelming majority of the land was owned by landlords. Although Ku Yen-wu did not give the exact date, yet according to the data available to us, this estimate was in conformity with the state of affairs in Soochow and Sungchiang after the middle of the Ming Dynasty.

The expropriation of land was carried out most ferociously by the group of imperial landlords who depended upon political influence to expand their "imperial estates." Apart from this, some bureaucrat-landlords in rural areas also seized a lot of land. The land owned by Hsu Chieh alone was put at 240,000 mou in some cases, and 400,000 mou in other cases—equivalent to about one-third or one-half of the acreage of arable land in Sungchiang hsien under the jurisdiction of Shanghai municipality today.

Hai Jui's statement that "the common people cursed and resented the large numbers of estates and slaves owned by the retired officials in Huat'ing" was a portrayal of the sharp class struggle which he saw with his own eyes. The concentration of land accelerated the sharpening of the class contradiction between the peasants and the landlord class. Large numbers of peasants went bankrupt and fled, many fields were left uncultivated, and "the landless people could only work as hired farmhands for other people" (*Records of Huat'ing Hsien*).

The contradiction between the peasantry and the landlord class was the basic contradiction of the feudal society, and the sharpening of the class struggle would inevitably affect the relationships between various strata within the landlord class. Under the circumstances that most land was owned by the landlords, the bureaucrat-landlords could

not but concentrate their target of land annexation on the small and middle landowners and the "rich families" which "hired people to farm their land"—that is the "rich peasants" (also called "upper peasants"). As a result, the contradiction within the landlord class also grew acute.

Meanwhile, because the bureaucrat-landlords hid away a lot of land—on which no taxes were paid—and monopolized the fruit of exploitation, the Imperial Court found itself in financial difficulties, and some officials in court continuously demanded survey of arable land, limitations on the size of "imperial estates" and other estates, and restriction of the continued annexation of "private land" owned by middle and small landowners. This sharpened the contradictions between various groups of landlords in and out of office.

At that time, one of the principal methods for the bureaucrat-landlords to annex land was the so-called "surrender of land" which was opposed by Hai Jui when he demanded the "return of land."

Surrender of land was mainly implemented in two ways. One way was for the powerful landlords to instigate the lackeys—who were related to the original landowners in some ways—to "surrender" such land to themselves. Such land was taken away from the "rich families" which originally owned it, and the lackeys who "surrendered the land" became the caretaker or sublandlord of such land.

The other way was for the middle or small landowners, rich peasants, individuals, or the few small holders to surrender their land to the bureaucrat-landlords with the object of evading heavy official corvees and taxation. The reason was that the "Ming Code" provided that officials enjoyed the privilege of exemption from official corvees and taxation to varying extent according to their ranks, and the landowners could evade such official corvees and taxation by placing their land under the names of bureaucrat-landlords. The bureaucrat-landlords took advantage of this, and seized the land owned by the middle or small landowners, rich peasants, or small holders who sought to evade official corvees and taxation.

Because most land was owned by the landlords and rich peasants, the land seized by the bureaucrat-landlords was in most

cases property of the middle or small landowners or rich peasants.[15] This was the essence of the matter. The *Biography of Hai Jui* says:

> Therefore, the rich often surrendered their land to the officials, and would rather work as rent-paying tenants to evade their major duties. This was called surrender of land. Because of this, once a scholar passed the examination of the second degree, he often acquired the land surrendered and became a rich man. Once the downfallen officials regained their offices and power, they often behaved like the upstart officials, and looked upon the annexation of land as a matter of course. When those with power and influence took over the estates they wanted, nobody would dare to refuse.

What is described here as "the rich" refers of course not to the poor peasants who had no land "to surrender," but to the local officials who had "lost their influence" or the middle or small landowners with no political status or the rich peasants. Their "private land" was continuously annexed by the powerful bureaucrat-landlords and when the latter "wanted to take over anything, nobody would dare to refuse." This seriously jeopardized the interests of the middle and small landowners and rich peasants, and also seriously affected the financial receipts of the Imperial Court

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[15] In the *Notes on the Twenty-Two Dynasties of China*, the examples given on surrender of land in Chiating and Ch'ingp'u under the Reign of Wan-li give a marked reflection of the contradiction within the landlord class. An excerpt follows: "An example was also set in the surrender of land. The villains seized land from landowners and surrendered it to those in power, thus turning such land into the property of those in power. […] During the Reign of Wan-li, there was a gallant fellow named Chou Hsing-ch'ing in Chiating and Ch'ingp'u. A widow there has some property and her son was young. Her nephew secretly sun-ended her land to a powerful family, and the powerful family came in a boat to inspect the estate. Learning about the injustice, Chou Hsing-ch'ing mustered a number of strong men and came forward to challenge the powerful family. The latter were scared and fled. […] It can be seen from this how bad the custom of surrender of land was at that time." (Commercial Press, July 1958 edition, p. 721.)

It was precisely because of this that as soon as Hai Jui came to Sungchiang and Huat'ing, he discovered that "the first-degree licentiates," "the good retired officials," and even "the prefects and magistrates" in some places opposed with "one voice" the large-scale annexation of land by such big bureaucrat-landlords as Hsu Chieh and their practice of accepting "surrendered land."

The "good retired officials" told Hai Jui: "In the past twenty years, because the prefects and magistrates one-sidedly heeded the recommendations and biddings of the retired officials, private properties were gradually wiped out and the retired officials gradually grew rich." Do not these words give a vivid portrayal of the annexation of the middle and small landowners by the big bureaucrat-landlords? Hai Jui came to the conclusion that "the nonbenevolent rich were resented by the public."[16] Such "common resentment" indicated the political attitude of the middle and small landowners, the rich peasants, and the intellectuals representing their interests toward annexation by the big landlords.

When Tai Feng-hsiang, the spokesman of the big landlords south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, attacked Hai Jui for connivance with the "knaves," Hai Jui used the above-mentioned material to show that his call for "return of land" was based upon the clamors of these people. It seems that he was telling the truth. His call for "return of land" reflected the common demand of the middle and small landlords and the rich peasants whose "private properties had gradually dwindled." It was implemented for easing the contradictions within the landlord class and the ever more acute class contradictions between the broad masses of the peasants and the landlord class. Moreover, it was beneficial for increasing revenue receipts and solving the financial difficulties of the Imperial Court.

After these historical facts are clarified, we shall have a clearer picture of how the *Dismissal of Hai Jui* has distorted the class relationships.

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[16] "Memorial To Admit Incompetency After Being Criticized," see *Collected Works of Hai Jui* published in December 1962, by Chung Hua Book Company. All subsequent utterances by Hai Jui used in the article are quoted from this book.

Did Hai Jui require the landlords to return land to the peasants when he called on the retired officials to return their land? No.

Both the Ming History and a number of biographies of Hai Jui clearly state that Hai Jui called on the retired officials to return the land "surrendered" to them. "His Lordship ruled with an iron fist and ordered all those who had been offered land to return such land or permit such land to be redeemed." This was done to discourage annexation and to bring blows to bear upon the big landlords. Apart from the land which was returned to the government, most of the land returned went back to the "weaklings" and the "rich families"—that is, the middle or small landowners or the rich peasants—who had "surrendered such land." This actually safeguarded the interests of the middle and small landowners and the rich peasants.

Since the poor hired farmhands had no land "to surrender" and no money "to redeem" such land, naturally, none of the "land returned" would come into their hands. How can it be assumed that Hai Jui "fought" wholeheartedly for land for the poor peasants?

Did Hai Jui seek to bring emancipation to "the tenants of the House of Hsu?" He had basically done nothing in this connection.

In his letter to Li Ch'ung-fang, Hai Jui explained his object of requiring Hsu Chieh "to return land" by saying:

> Unless more than half of his land is returned, how can the depravity of the people be stemmed? It can do no good but harm for the rich to be non-benevolent, and the cart in the rear should take warning from the overturned cart in front. […] In requiring venerable Hsu to return more than half of his land, I just want to preserve tranquility after he passes away. Please don't misunderstand me.

Was this not a clear indication of the class stand of Hai Jui? He clearly wanted to "stem" the "depravity" of the people, to prevent the landlord class from being overthrown in the ever more acute class struggle, and to ensure "tranquility after the death" of Hsu Chieh. In no case, did he

consult the poor peasants and try to solve the problem of land for "the tenants of the House of Hsu."

Was Hai Jui's call for "return of land" a "decision in favor of the people?"

Hai Jui told us in his Governor's Proclamation that all the measures issued by him as governor sought "to pacify the public by getting rid of old abuses and to restore the established laws of our ancestors."

Now, in the Ming Code formulated by the "founder of the dynasty," there was such a provision: "Those who surrender the land under dispute or the land of other people as their own properties to the officials in power, and those who receive such land shall each be punished with one hundred strokes of the cane and three years of imprisonment."[17] Was this not precisely the contradiction which Hai Jui had to handle?

The Ming Dynasty had long ago laid down this law against the surrender of land for the purposes of alleviating contradictions within this class, guarding against the acute development of annexation, and facilitating the consolidation of the dictatorship of the whole landlord class. This law later existed only in name. Hai Jui had done nothing more than oppose the surrender of land within this sphere. How can it be said that he "decided in favor" of the peasants south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River?

Did Hai Jui oppose "usury" with the "poor peasants" in mind? It is best to quote the statement made by Hai Jui to refute Tai Feng-hsiang's attack against him. He said:

> In past years, when collecting grain, the grain officials often deducted first their private debts before they turned over grain to the government. The wealthy aristocrats also forced settlements at harvesting time. Since private and public interests were dealt with side by side, the payment of grain tax could hardly be fulfiled. It is my opinion that the grain tax must be paid

[17] *Ming Law Explained*, Vol. V.

> before private settlements can be made, and it is not my intention to prohibit the settlement of debts.

The "public side" meant the feudal Imperial Court, while the "private side" meant the landlords and the local bullies. Hai Jui made it known that he was not against exploitation by rural landlords and the granting of loans. He only opposed the monopoly of the fruit of exploitation by the big landlords in the countryside so as to solve the problem of financial income for the Imperialist Court.

Hai Jui never thought of basically solving the contradiction between the peasants and the landlords. He only wanted to ease this contradiction.

Hai Jui himself said: "The support of the higher level by the lower level is a principle that cannot be done away with, but the loss and gain must be adjusted so that the system may last."

This made it plain that in working for "the adjustment of gain and loss," his aim was to limit the exploitation of the big landlords within the legitimate sphere-without hampering the basic interests of landlord class—and to weaken the resistance of the peasants, so that feudal exploitation based upon "the support of the higher level by the lower level" might be "perpetuated."

He again and again admonished the peasants to submit to feudal rule, to abide by "decorum," and not to "become bandits." To deal with the rioting peasants, he advocated that "force of arms should be used and the people should be pacified" at the same time.

In opposing the most reactionary big landlords, his aim was not to weaken the system of ownership of land by landlords, but to consolidate such a system, the landlords' rule over the peasants, and the Imperial regime. This was where the common interests of the different groups and factions of the feudal ruling classes and the "long-range interests" of the landlord class lay.

The portrayal of Hai Jui is representing the interests of the peasants seeks to confuse the enemy and ourselves, to obliterate the essence of the dictatorship of the landlord class, and to prettify the landlord class.

Hai Jui again and again expressed his loyalty to the emperor. In his letter to Kao Kung to make known what he had in mind, he said: "I am doing my utmost to build a lasting foundation south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River and to justify His Majesty's confidence in me." How could he do anything to rock this "lasting foundation?"

The "return of land" is untruthfully portrayed. Is the portrayal of his "redressing grievances" true? According to the data we have found, we can only answer in the negative.

The Sungchiang Prefect and the Huat'ing Magistrate had not basically been executed or dismissed. When Hai Jui was governor of Yingtien, not a single official at the hsien level or above in the area of Soochow and Sungchiang had been dismissed. The son of Hsu Chieh had not been executed but was sentenced to banishment. Hai Jui was also not responsible for this. The one responsible was Kao Kung—the political enemy of Hsu Chieh—when he once again rose to power following the removal of the latter as prime minister. When Chang Chii-cheng came into power, this sentence was annulled. The "Biography of Kao Kung" in Ming History has this to say:

> The children of Hsu Chien were tyrants in their home village. Kao Kung appointed Ts'ai Kuo-hsi, a former prefect, as inspector-general to bring all the sons of Hsu Chieh to book. They were all sentenced to banishment. Kao Kung did everything to repress Hsu Chieh, who was left alone only after Kao Kung lost his office.

Similar records are also found in the *Biography of Hsu Chieh*.

The arrest of Hsu Chieh's sons was by nature a vengeance wrecked by Kao Kung and was carried out by another official. It had nothing to do with Hai Jui.

After the downfall of Yen Sung, Hsu Chieh, Kao Kung, and Chang Chii-cheng waged a protracted struggle for power. Is it not contrary to the basic historical fact to transplant the collision of different political groups in the cabinet in the person of Hai Jui and

portray him as "standing on the side of the poor peasants to redress the grievances of the people?"

Comrade Wu Han knows very well that "in history the sons of Hsu Chieh were only sentenced to banishment," but in order to prettify Hai Jui, he chooses to portray him in this way. This shows that he makes no bones of rewriting history in order to mold his ideal hero.

Hai Jui was also not as "democratic" as portrayed in the play. On the contrary, he was of the opinion that "the people south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River were knavish and rascally in character," and "made all kinds of fabricated charges in nine out of ten petitions." He himself stated that the way to deal with "knavish suits" was to fetter and shackle seven or eight persons before the yamen at all times and beat them up ruthlessly first. He thought this was a good experience.

When Hai Jui discussed "doubtful cases" in *Rules for Reform*, he also said: "In a lawsuit, it is better to wrong the common people than the retired officials in order to preserve prestige." Below this there is a short note which reads: "Preservation of prestige is called for because the retired officials are of patrician birth while the common people are of lowly birth." In order to safeguard "the dividing line between people of patrician birth and those of lowly birth," it would do "to wrong the common people." This was a manifestation of the reactionary nature of the dictatorship of the landlord class.

Now, Hai Jui is portrayed as being so democratic as to seek "advice" from the peasants. His political stand is thus transposed.

By comparing these historical facts with the Hai Jui in the play *Dismissal of Hai Jui*, it is not difficult to discover that the latter is a fictitious character. It is a character remolded with the bourgeois viewpoint.

A historical play needs to be processed artistically and recreated. We do not expect a new historical play to agree with history in every detail, but we do expect that the class stand and class relationship of the characters portrayed therein should agree with historical facts.

Comrade Wu Han has said that a historical play "must make every effort to bring itself in greater conformity with historical facts, and there is no room for distortion and hypothesis."[18] However, facts speak louder than words. The image of Hai Jui in this play has already nothing to do with rational imagination or typical generalization. It can only come under the category of "distortion, hypothesis, and making veiled criticism of contemporary people with ancient people." The course of class struggle tells us that there was no way for Hai Jui or other feudal officials after him to restore vitality to the rotten and degenerated Ming Dynasty or to alleviate the fire of hatred for the peasants. After Hai Jui, the peasants of Sungchiang were ruthlessly oppressed and exploited as usual. Annexation and exodus continued and the class contradiction went on to grow more acute.

After the death of Hai Jui in 1587, the peasants rose in revolt like clouds in the winds and a surging tide. The Ming Dynasty fell in 1644—less than 60 years after the death of Hai Jui.

Confronted by such historical realities, the play makes the peasant praise the "return of land" by singing: "With land we shall be properly fed and clothed and a good life will unfold before us." They also cheer: "The poor people south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River will lead a good life from how on!" Is this not preposterous and ridiculous?

What does *Dismissal of Hai Jui* Extol?

Let us see what does the author extol with the artistic image of a phoney Hai Jui.

We know that the state is the tool of class struggle and a mechanism for one class to oppress another. There is no nonclass or supraclass state. This is the basic viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism on the problem of state.

Proceeding from this viewpoint, we cannot but admit that the feudal state is a tool for the landlord class to enforce dictatorship on

[18] Wu Han's "More on Historical Plays," *Wen-hui Pao*, 3 May 1961, Spring Collection, p. 155.

the peasants. The laws and courts of the feudal state and the officials who rule over the people—including "honest, incorrupt officials" and "good officials"—can only be the tools of the dictatorship of the landlord class and can never transcend class, nor can they serve the ruling class as well as the ruled class.

To be sure, because there are different strata and groups within the landlord class and because of changes in the situation of the class struggle, they may differ and come into conflict over this or that problem, over the attitude adopted toward the interests of the big landlords, the middle and small landowners, and the rich peasants, and over the degree and method of oppression to which the peasants are subjected.

Fundamentally speaking, however, the substance of such struggle can never transcend the sphere of upholding the dictatorship of the landlord class. At no time can we distort the struggle within the landlord class as the class struggle between the peasants and the landlords.

Taking the struggle between the "honest, incorrupt officials" and the "corrupt officials" for illustration, there really have been honest, incorrupt officials who punished some "corrupt officials" in the courts of the landlord class according to some provisions of the law of the landlord class. There have also been cases in which a particular peasant "won" the case against a member of a faction or group because the case was tried by an "honest, incorrupt official" who happened to be an opponent of the faction or group to which the defendant belonged. Such phenomena have misled many peasants without experience in class struggle, and made them lose sight of the class features of the "honest, incorrupt officials" and the class essence of the feudal state and the feudal courts. The landlord class has also made constant use of such phenomena to benumb the consciousness of the peasants, and of the "honest, incorrupt officials" as tools to cover up the essence of class rule and as important means for carrying out the class struggle against the peasants in coordination with armed suppression.

There are in the Ming History records about the dispatch of "honest, incorrupt officials" by the landlord class—the strategy of delaying the approach of the enemy—before action was taken to wipe out the uprising peasants at one stroke.[19] Basically speaking, however, no matter how "honest" and "good" are the "honest officials" and the "good officials," they can only be "honest officials" and "good officials" for implementing the dictatorship of the landlord class over the peasants, and can never take the opposite course.

However, the *Dismissal of Hai Jui* tells us: No! The "honest, incorrupt officials," are not the tools of the landlord class but are in the service of the peasant class. You see, Hai Jui in the play is an ambassador of the feudal dynasty, but he wages a fierce struggle against Hsu Chieh and represents the interests of the poor peasants.

In this struggle, "honest official" Hai Jui is on the one hand portrayed as a great hero who safeguards the interests of "the tenants of the House of Hsu" and all poor peasants. He is opposed to other officials who implement the dictatorship of the landlord class, and the contradiction between the "honest, incorrupt officials" and the "corrupt officials" is portrayed as the contradiction between the protection and the suppression of the peasants as well as the contradiction between the return of land to the peasants and the seizure of land from the peasants. We can see nothing of the role played by

[19] For example, in 1450 (first year under the Reign of Ching-t'ai), the peasant insurgents led by Huang Hsiao-yang surrounded the city of Canton and cut off all means of communication. The offensive was very fierce and the armed forces of the landlord class were "repeatedly defeated." At that time, seeing that the armed suppression failed, the Imperial Court sent there Yang Hsin-min, then a well-known "honest, incorrupt official." As soon as Yang arrived, he promptly made use of the flexible means of "pacification." He carried out a lot of work to deceive, disintegrate, and soften up the peasant insurgents. The latter were deceived by the "honest, incorrupt official." They dared not do anything "to harm him" and slackened their armed struggle. Following this, Tung Hsing sent large contingents of the armed forces of the landlords in Kwangtung, Kwangsi, and Kiangsi to the place to carry out a sanguine massacre of the peasants and their troops. The uprising thus failed, and Huang Hsiao-yang was also killed by an arrow. This story is told in the "Biography of Yang Hsin-min" and the "Biography of Tung Hsing" in Ming History.

the "honest, incorrupt officials" in consolidating the dictatorship of the landlord class.

On the other hand, all peasants are portrayed as a passive lot devoid of any spirit for revolutionary struggle. Their sole role is to kneel before the "Honorable Hai," beseech him to redress their grievances, and look upon the "honest, incorrupt official" as their savior.

Obviously, as the author of the *Dismissal of Hai Jui* sees it, the motive force for propelling history forward is not the class struggle but "honest, incorrupt officials." There is no need for the masses to rise and liberate themselves, for with the blessings of an "honest, incorrupt official," they can promptly lead "a good life."

In this play, the "honest, incorrupt officials," law, and courts—which are the tools of the dictatorship of the landlord class—are all prettified as things which transcend class and their existence is divorced from and independent of the dictatorship of the landlord class. The play publicizes that there is no need for the oppressed people to make revolution, to go through any serious struggle, and to smash the state machinery. Provided they bow and kowtow to the "honest, incorrupt officials" and abide by the "law" of the feudal dynasty, they can wipe out the corrupt officials in one stroke and "lead a good life."

Lenin once said that the state problem "is a problem most confused by the bourgeois scholars, writers, and philosophers" ("On State"). What is called the "redressing of grievances by honest, incorrupt officials"—as a component of the state problem—is[20] a problem especially confused by the bourgeoisie and a sort of superstition for poisoning the minds of the people. Marxist-Leninists have the duty to expose such falsehood and to explode such superstition.

The *Dismissal of Hai Jui* takes precisely the opposite course. Instead of exploding such superstition, it takes on the mantle of a new

[20] Editors: we have omitted "it is [sic] afraid" from the original document as it was in error according to the original text, and makes no sense.

historical play and prettifies with all means the officials, courts, and law of the landlord class, thus deepening such superstition.

The peasants know that "the world is under the sway of the officials at both the high and the low levels" and "has no place for those in the right but without money." As soon as Hai Jui enters the scene, he angrily ask the peasants: "What sort of law do the landlords and despots rely on?" He also lectures the peasants by saying: "You have also yourselves to blame. Why don't you make complaints?" In the course of "redressing grievances," he emphasizes again and again: "A law-breaking prince is punished in the same way as the commoner."

The play makes use of these statements to cover up the class essence of "law." It also employs "practical action" to demonstrate that provided the "honest, incorrupt officials"—such as Hai Jui—act according to "law," they can turn the courts into places that give protection to the peasants, "redress grievances for the people," reverse "wrong judgments," and enable the peasants to obtain land.

Does this not seek to look upon the state machinery of the landlord class as the tool for protecting the peasants? Does this not seek to obliterate the essence of the suppression of the peasants by the dictatorship of the landlord class? Does this not seek to publicize that provided the honest, incorrupt officials of the landlord class "make decisions in favor of the people" in the yamen, once the peasants "make complaints," they can be liberated? How can such a play—which prettifies the landlord class state in a big way and publicizes nonrevolution and class reconciliation—say anything about "the need for guiding the creation of historical plays with Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Zedong?"[21]

Since there were classes and states in human society, such a thing as "officials making decisions in favor of the people" has never occurred in the world. In China, neither the reformers of the landlord class nor the bourgeois democrats have ever brought "good times" to the peasants. Only the great revolution led by the Chinese Communist

[21] Wu Han's "More on Historical Plays," *Wen-hui Pao*, 3 May 1961, Spring Collection, p. 152.

Party—which has thoroughly smashed the state machinery of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie and founded the People's Republic of China led by the proletariat and based upon the worker-peasant alliance-has solved the problems of "land, food, and clothing" for the peasants south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River and the whole country. This is an ironclad fact which nobody can refute.

We hope that Comrade Wu Han will compare the image of Hai Jui which he has molded and the viewpoints publicized through this image with the Marxist-Leninist viewpoints which Comrade Mao Zedong has explained again and again. It will not be difficult to discover that he has actually replaced the Marxist-Leninist concept of the state with that of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, and the theory of class struggle with the theory of class reconciliation. What is he driving at in publicizing today the antiquated viewpoint which has been played up by the landlord class and the bourgeoisie for hundreds and thousands of years? And who will reap the benefit? It is necessary to distinguish right from wrong.

What are the Things which the *Dismissal Of Hai Jui* wants People to Learn?

Hai Jui was an influential historical character. As we see it, he was a more far-sighted personality among the landlord class during the decline of the feudal society. He was loyal to the feudal system, and was a "loyal official" of the feudal dynasty. He perceived some phenomena of the sharp contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class at his times. In order to consolidate the feudal rule, weaken the resistance of the peasants, alleviate the sharp class contradictions, and uphold the fundamental interests of the feudal dynasty, he dared to wage a sharp struggle against some groups or measures which endangered the interests of the feudal dynasty.

In some respects, his interests were in agreement with those of the middle and small landowners and the rich peasants. In restraining the powerful landlords, his aim was to consolidate the dictatorship of

the whole landlord class over the peasants and uphold the interests of the Imperial Court.

His Memorial on Security is taken by Comrade Wu Han and many articles and plays as representing the interests of the people, and some people have especially composed and staged a new historical play called *Hai Jui Submits a Memorial*.[22] However, he stated at the beginning of the memorial that he was of the opinion that "the sovereign is the master of his subjects and all things." His object was "to seek ten thousand generations of peace" for the imperial dynasty. This action could only show how loyal he was to the sovereign and nothing else.

Because of this, Emperor Chia Ching did not punish him with death. After he died, the emperor was very sad and "posthumously conferred on him the office of Junior Guardian of the Heir-Apparent and the title of Chung Chih [loyalty and integrity]." When the senior vice president of the Board of Rites came to pay him last respects, he said: "Although he could not work in harmony with the times because of his intractability, he finally won recognition because of his straightforwardness."

The feudal Imperial Court knew very well that Hai Jui was a loyal defender of the interests of the landlord class. This was the class essence of Hai Jui, and was also the point of departure as well as the end for all his actions. By portraying Hai Jui as representing the interests of the peasants, "loving the people and doing everything with the common people in mind," fighting "for the interests of the

[22] *Hai Jui Submits a Memorial*, a collective work of Shanghai Peking Opera Theater written by Hsu Szu-yen, published in April 1960, by Shanghai Literature and Art Publishing House. When this play was staged in 1959 and 1961, comments and articles were carried by both Chieh-fang Jih-pao and Wen-hui Pao separately published the two articles, "The Image of Hai Jui in Hai Jui Submits a Memorial" and "On Chou Hsin-fang's New Play, Hai Jui Submits a Memorial." When the play was staged once again during the Spring Festival of 1961, Chieh-fang Jih-pao also published on February 11 an article entitled "On Peking Opera Hai Jui Submits a Memorial."

people,"[23] and even a hero "undaunted by the influence of the feudal bureaucrats," Comrade Wu Han has distorted outright the class features of Hai Jui.

The Imperial Court of the Ming Dynasty glorified Hai Jui by saying that "he protected the people as his children," while Comrade Wu Han says that he "did everything for the people." Is there any difference between the two?

In the historical records of the landlord class, there is a profusion of data which describe in great length how Hai Jui "worked for the people in every place and every thing." For example, when Hai Jui was governor of the area south of the lower reaches of the Yangtze River, he acted against Hsu Chieh and called for "return of land" on a large scale. "In less than a month," he put the Wusung River under good repairs, and the people lauded him by saying that he was "the dragon king of the sea." Because of this, after his death, the common people closed the market, and a hundred-li-long queue of weeping mourners dressed in white lined the two banks of the river when the boat carrying his coffin came to the place. These records, coupled with the colorful stories in old novels and plays, are very easy to mislead people. However, the records in such "official documents" obviously embody the exaggerated accounts of the landlord class, and we should carefully analyze them from the class viewpoint.

There was such a thing as "opposition to surrender of land" and Hsu Chieh was called upon "to return land," but no reliable data can be found to show whether Hsu Chieh had complied with the demand, how much land he returned, and whether the return of land was genuine or fictitious. According to Tan Ch'ien's State Taxation, in the seventh month of the fifth year of the Reign of Lung-ch'ing, Hsu Chieh returned 40,000 mou of land, but according to the statement that "40,000 mou of land was handed over to the government," it was definite that such land was handed over to the government and was basically not returned to the peasants.

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[23] Wu Han's "Story of Hai Jui," *Collected Works on Chinese History*, 2nd edition, June 1963, Chung Hua Book Company, pp. 19–35.

Even assuming that "more than half of the land was returned," it was still in the interest of the landlord class and Hai Jui was not the only man who had called for the return of land. When Hsii Chieh was in power, he also had ordered "the return of land." When the fourth son of Emperor Chia-ch'ing—Tsai Chun, Prince of Ching—died, Hsu Chieh "submitted a memorial recommending the seizure of several ten thousand hectares of land on the slope from the House of Ching for return to the people, and the people of Ch'u were very pleased."[24]

If the class of the "people to whom the land was returned" is not analyzed and if, according to Comrade Wu Han's view, anybody who dared to order "the return of land" would be a hero, was not Hsii Chieh a greater hero than Hai Jui, seeing that he dared to order the return of several ten thousand hectares of Imperial land?

Hai Jui did try to regulate the Wusung River, but his success in this connection was also open to doubt. Even under modern conditions the regulation of a river is by no means easy; how could Hai Jui have regulated a river in so short a time? According to his "memorial on widening of the Wusung River," he originally "planned to widen the river by 150 feet." The project was started on the third day of the first month, but all the money had been spent by the middle of the second month. Because "the engineering project was heavy and there was not enough money," he asked for permission to draw on public funds. It can be seen that he encountered great difficulties and was unable to fulfill even the original plan in more than a month.

Comrade Wu Han overstated the truth: "The progress of work was so fast that it took less than a month to finish the project." Such exaggeration has nothing in common with Hai Jui's own memorial.

As to his portrayal of the funeral, this also gives us food for thought. Before liberation, under the ruthless exploitation of the landlord class, the broad masses of the poor peasants were so impoverished that they could not afford to put on clothes. Many peasants shared their rags generation after generation. They had no mourning clothes to put on even when members of their own families passed away. It can be seen that those people who could put on

[24] "Biography of Hsii Chieh" in Ming History.

presentable "white caps and robes" to attend the funeral at that time could never be the poor peasants or "the broad masses of the people" as Comrade Wu Han claims, but could only be the landlords, rich peasants, and merchants.

It is not a matter of no significance if in the course of writing a historical play we can really follow the principles of historical materialism, scientifically analyze such historical data, eliminate what is false, retain what is true, and mold the character of Hai Jui according to his original features—thus enabling the audience to see what is his class essence and to know the class features of historical characters from the viewpoint of historical materialism. It will acquire a positive significance in eliminating the undesirable effects spread by many old novels and plays which sing praises to Hai Jui.

However, Comrade Wu Han not only runs counter to historical facts and adopts—in whole and without any change—the standpoint and viewpoint of the landlord class and its data to sing praises of Hai Jui, but even goes to the extreme of molding Hai Jui as the "savior" of the poor peasants, and a victor in the struggle for the interests of the peasants. He wants the people of today to follow his example. This is total departure from the correct direction.

Comrade Wu Han unambiguously calls upon others to learn from the Hai Jui molded by him. What are, after all, the things we can "learn" from him?

The "return of land?" The socialist system of collective ownership has been realized and great people's communes have been established in our countryside. Under such a circumstance, who is required "to return the land?" Do we want the people's communes "to return the land?" Can it be said that the 500 million peasants who are pushing forward with resolve along the socialist road should be required to "learn" such "return of land?"

Or to learn "the redressing grievances?" Ours is a country in which the dictatorship of the proletariat has been realized. Speaking of redressing of grievances, with the proletariat and all oppressed and exploited classes breaking out from the darkest hell in the world,

smashing the shackles of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, and becoming the masters of their own destinies—have not the grievances been redressed the most thoroughly in the history of mankind? If we are required to learn "to redress grievances" today, we must ask: What are after all the classes which have "grievances," and how can their "grievances" be "redressed?"

If we are not required to learn the return of land or the redressing of grievances, what then is the "realistic significance" of the *Dismissal of Hai Jui*?

Perhaps Comrade Wu Han would say: Granted it is wrong to learn Hai Jui's return of land or redressing of grievances, we can at least learn his spirit as "a great man" who "stands on the earth with his head reaching to the sky," and to "oppose today's bureaucratism as he opposed the hypocrites in old days." Have I not said in the synopsis of the *Dismissal of Hai Jui* that this play "lays emphasis on Hai Jui's uprightness and refusal to bow to brute force" and his "determination?" Do we also need such a "he-man" to handle our internal relationships today? The play has saliently portrayed Hai Jui's opposition to "licorice root" and his attack on the hypocrites, and has also molded Hsu Chieh as a typical "hypocrite."

It is necessary to oppose bureaucratism. As a matter of fact, the Chinese Communists have never slackened their struggle against bureaucratism. However, we know that the existence of bureaucratism in the socialist society has its social origin and root cause in ideology, and it is necessary to wage a protracted struggle before it can be extirpated.

As to "uprightness," "great man," "he-man," and "opposition to hypocrites," it is first necessary to determine their class content—for what class do they work and against what class are they directed. These concepts are interpreted by different classes in different ways, and we cannot discard their class content and regard them in the abstract. "Uprightness" or "great man" has its specific class meaning, and basically cannot be mixed with the revolutionary or militant character of the proletariat.

We want to quote once again the statement made by Comrade Mao Zedong to explain a couplet from a poem by Lu Hsun:

> Fierce-browed, I cooly defy a thousand pointing fingers,
> Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children.

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The 'thousand pointing fingers' are our enemies, and we will never yield to them, no matter how ferocious. The 'children' here symbolize the proletariat and the masses." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art")

We must face the enemies with "a scornful frown," but serve the children with heads bowed like a willing ox. If we depart from so definite a class standpoint or class viewpoint today, describe "uprightness" and "great man" in the abstract, even call those who "serve the children with the head bowed like a willing ox" the "hypocrites" and those, who cooly defy with a scornful frown the proletariat and the working people, "upright" persons and use such "self-respect" to demand "return land," "redress grievances," "oppose today's bureaucratism," and "officials be dismissed" by the working people—then where shall we lead people to?

If we were not forgetful, we would still remember that after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production in 1957, a small bunch of people suddenly showed a special interest in the opposition of "hypocrites." Some people made use of the slogan of "opposing the hypocrites" and "opposing licorice root" to oppose the revolutionary cadres of the proletariat and the left-wingers among the democrats. They cursed the Party leaders as "hypocrites who are mindful of minor virtues," and slandered the democrats who followed the Communist Party as the disciples of "licorice rootism." An abundance of jargon of this kind can be found from certain newspapers at that time.

This was because—in the view of those who took the stand of the landlords and the bourgeoisie—all those who proceeded from the supreme interests of the Party and the people, adopted the means of democracy and persuasion and the method of unity/criticism/unity to

handle correctly the contradictions among the people, and urged people to exert themselves for progress were all "hypocrites" and "licorice roots." Proceeding from the interests of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, they dared to persist in mistakes to the end, dared to become opponents of the proletarian dictatorship, and dared to slay with a stick those who disagreed with them. They thought that only in this way could they be "great men" and "strong men" who were "ashamed to be identified with licorice root."

The substance of this set of theories is already known to everybody. Why do the *Dismissal of Hai Jui* and its commentators want to proclaim them once again?

Comrade Wu Han has stubbornly publicized the theory that historical plays must bring the "good virtues" of some characters of the feudal age "deep into people's hearts to form a component of socialist and communist morality."[25] We are not going to discuss here the problem of morality (which is also a problem much confused by the bourgeois scholars, writers, and philosophers). But if the thoughts and deeds of Hai Jui are considered as "components" of communist morality as the *Dismissal of Hai Jui* preaches, what then is the use of studying the thought of Mao Zedong; ideological remolding; becoming one with the workers, peasants, and soldiers; and revolutionization; and labor transformation?

Let us now return to the problem raised at the beginning of this article: What is the "realistic significance" of the *Dismissal of Hai Jui* as a "big-character poster?" In order to find an answer to this problem, it is necessary to study the background to the production of this play.

As is known to all, China in 1961 encountered temporary economic difficulties because it was attacked by natural calamities for three years in succession. With the imperialists, the reactionaries of various countries, and the modern revisionists launching wave after wave of attacks against China, the demons and spirits clamored for "individual farming" and "reopening of cases." They played up the "superiority" of "individual farming" and called for the restoration of individual economy and the "return of land." In other words, they

[25] Wu Han's "More on Historical Plays," *Wen-hui Pao*, 3 May 1961.

wanted to demolish the people's communes and to restore the criminal rule of the landlords and rich peasants. The imperialists, landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, undesirable characters, and rightists who were responsible for numerous grievances of the working people in the old society had lost their right to manufacture more grievances. They felt that it was "wrong" to overthrow them and vociferously clamored for "the redressing of their grievances." They hoped that someone who represented their interests would come forward to resist the dictatorship of the proletariat, redress their "grievances" and "reopen the case" for them so that they might be returned to power.

"Return of land" and "redressing of grievances" formed the focal point of bourgeois opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist revolutionary struggle at that time.

The objective existence of class struggle will necessarily be reflected in this or that form in the ideological sphere, or through the pen of this or that writer. Regardless of whether this writer is conscious of it or not, this is an objective law which is independent of one's will. The *Dismissal of Hai Jui* is a form of reflection of such class struggle.

If Comrade Wu Han does not agree with this analysis, he is asked to give us a clear and definite answer: In 1961, what things could the people have "learned" from the *Dismissal of Hai Jui* which distorts historical facts?

We are of the opinion that the *Dismissal of Hai Jui* is not a fragrant flower but a poisonous weed. Although it was published and staged several years ago, yet because large numbers of articles have been written in praise of it, and such articles have been widely read and have influenced people in a big way, their damaging effect has been felt far and wide. The play ought to be discussed; for any failure to clarify the problem will be most harmful to the people's cause. In such discussions, provided we make earnest use of the viewpoint of class analysis to think, we certainly can learn a profound lesson from the realistic and historical class struggle.

ON "THREE FAMILY VILLAGE":
The Reactionary Nature of Evening Chats at Yenshan and Notes from Three-Family Village (1966)

From *The Great Socialist Cultural Revolution in China* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1966)

On April 16, 1966, the fortnightly *Frontline* (*Qianxian*) and the *Peking Daily* (*Beijing Ribao*) published some material under the title "A Criticism of Three-Family Village" and "Evening Chats at Yenshan" with an editorial note. The note says:

> Our magazine and paper published these articles without timely criticism; this is wrong. The reason is that we did not put proletarian politics in command and that our minds were influenced by bourgeois and feudal ideas, and hence in this serious struggle we lost our stand of vigilance.

This is a gross lie. The author of "Evening Chats at Yenshan" is Teng T'o, while *Notes from Three-Family Village* represents a "gangster inn" run jointly by Teng T'o, Liao Mo-sha, and Wu Han. Teng T'o was the editor-in-chief of *Frontline*, and he controlled and monopolized the leading posts in the ideological and cultural work of Peking Municipality. He and his cronies of Three-Family Village made *Frontline*, the *Peking Daily*, the *Peking Evening News* (Beijing Wanbao), etc., instruments for opposing the Party and socialism, pursued a rabid anti-Party, antisocialist, Right opportunist, i.e., revisionist, line and served as spokesmen of the reactionary classes and the Right opportunists in their attacks on our Party. Could this be just a case of "loss of vigilance" and of publication "without timely criticism?" After letting loose so many vicious blasts against the Party and socialism, how can they claim that their minds are only a little "influenced" by bourgeois ideas? We must thoroughly expose this huge swindle.

Everyone still remembers that at the start of the criticism of Wu Han's drama, "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," Teng T'o feigned a correct posture. After hectic plotting, he used the penname Hsiang Yang-sheng and wrote a long article, "From Hai Jui Dismissed from Office to the Theory of Inheriting Old Ethical Values," which appeared simultaneously in the *Peking Daily* and *Frontline*. This article, which was designed to save Wu Han under the guise of "criticizing" him, was a thoroughly anti-Party and anti-Marxist poisonous weed. Does the prominence given by both the *Peking Daily* and *Frontline* to Teng T'o's article "criticizing" Wu Han merely show a "loss of vigilance?" Merely a "relaxation of the class struggle on the cultural and academic front?" No, not at all. Their vigilance is very high. They spared no effort in their class struggle against the Party and the people. When they saw that the problem of Wu Han could no longer be glossed over, Teng T'o hastily came out with a fake criticism; but one who had always acted a negative role could not act a positive role convincingly, and so left a great many holes. Then, as soon as it became clear that even Teng T'o could not be saved, they hastily wrote another fake criticism in the name of the editorial departments, stubbornly fighting back to prevent the struggle from going deeper. But this sham was even more obvious, and there were even more holes. They are trying to deceive people by this talk of not putting proletarian politics in command and not making a timely criticism, hoping by their bogus criticism of Teng T'o and Three-Family Village to fool the readers and the Party into believing that they are on the side of truth.

How can they clear up the problem by taking such an attitude? How can they "unfold serious criticism?" The editorial note says that Wu Han "time and again […] spoke on behalf of the Right opportunists who were dismissed from office." This was something which they first tried to cover up but which they now have to admit because it was exposed earlier on. The editorial note also says that Liao Mo-sha was "a protagonist consciously opposing the Party, socialism, and Mao Zedong's thought." But the reference to Teng T'o toward the end simply says that he "glorified dead men and stubbornly

advocated learning from them […] He propagated a large number of feudal and bourgeois ideas, opposing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's thought." No mention, however, is made of his anti-Party, antisocialist activities, which makes the whole thing hard to believe. Do the countless poisonous weeds in the 150-odd articles of "Evening Chats at Yenshan" and in *Notes from Three-Family Village* just advocate "learning from dead men?" Do they just propagate feudal and bourgeois ideas? Do they represent only an ideological mistake and not a political problem? Is it logical and credible that two out of the three brothers in Three-Family Village are anti-Party and antisocialist, while the third who actually did most of the writing merely advocates "learning from dead men"? Starting with a great flourish and then petering out and making a fake criticism in the hope of slipping by, they are simply putting on a show of criticism to resist the instructions of the Central Committee of the Party. Isn't this clear enough?

The material under the title "What Did Evening Chats at Yenshan Actually Advocate?" compiled to support the editorial note covers two whole pages of the Peking Daily, and yet it too tries to gloss over the sharp political questions. The subtitles of the various sections read: "Distorting the Party's Directive 'Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend'; Advocating Complete Freedom for Bourgeois Ideas;" "Idealizing All Aspects of the Feudal Social System"; "Using Corpses from Old Feudal Times to Resurrect the Bourgeoisie"; "Propagating the Exploiting Classes' Decadent Philosophy of Life"; and "Using Ancient Things to Satirize the Present and Attacks by Innuendo." Subtitles reveal the tendency and judgement of editors. This method of editing suggests to the reader that Evening Chats at Yenshan contained little or nothing which was opposed to the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao or which supported the Right opportunists, and was different in character from Hai Jui Dismissed from Office. Prominence is given in the first section to the distortion of the Party's policy of "let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," while "Using Ancient Things

to Satirize the Present" is put at the end with a few mild comments and one or two examples for the sake of appearances. Anyone with a discerning eye can see at a glance what the editors are up to.

When we investigate the matter, however, we find that it is not at all as they present it. A great mass of political comments, which grossly slandered the Central Committee of the Party and Chairman Mao, supported the Right opportunists and attacked the general line and the cause of socialism, are either left out or abridged, while some of the most obviously vicious comments using ancient things to satirize the present and oppose the Party and socialism have been included in other sections in a deliberate attempt to make them stand out less; and there is not a single word about the pernicious nationwide influence of Evening Chats at Yenshan. On the other hand, excerpts which did not touch on vital problems are presented with a great fanfare. There is an attempt to turn big issues into small ones and slip through. In particular, the editors have concealed the fact that the mass of articles attacking the Party written by Teng T'o, Wu Han, and Liao Mo-sha during this period were not produced independently of each other but were produced by the partnership of Three-Family Village under direction, according to plan and with clear coordination. Wu Han was in the van and Liao Mo-sha followed close behind, but of these three warriors the real "commanding general," the manager and boss of the Three-Family Village gangster inn, was none other than Teng T'o himself.

Comrade Mao Zedong has taught us: "We must firmly uphold the truth, and truth requires a clear-cut stand" ("A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shansi-Suiyuan Daily"). In a sharp and complex class struggle, all sorts of disguises are bound to be encountered. Only when we hold high and in prominence the revolutionary banner of Mao Zedong's thought, adhere to principle, persist in the truth, and speak out clearly without mincing our words to expose the true nature of things, can we avoid being taken in by disguises. Since *Frontline* and the *Peking Daily* have suddenly raised the problem of "Evening Chats at Yenshan" and "Notes from Three-Family Village" but are concealing the truth, it is obviously the duty of all revolutionaries to

make a thorough exposure of the reactionary character of these writings. Despite the jumble of trash in them, once we make an analysis we can see that they consistently follow a single black anti-Party and antisocialist line, just as "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" do, and some dark clouds have been raised up over China's political skies in the last few years. It is now time to reveal the inside story of this big Three-Family Village gangster inn more fully.

How did Evening Chats at Yenshan and Notes From Three-Family Village come on the Stage?

"Evening Chats at Yenshan" and "Notes from Three-Family Village" came on the stage close on the heels of "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office." They formed a deliberate, planned, and organized major attack on the Party and socialism, masterminded in detail by Three-Family Village. One look at the timetable will give us a clear picture of what happened.

"Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" was published in Peking Literature and Art (*Beijing Wenyi*) in January 1961. Today, the reactionary nature of this drama has become increasingly evident. It directed its spearhead precisely against the Lushan meeting and against the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, with a view to reversing the decisions of that meeting. The clamorous message of the drama was that the dismissal of the "upright official Hai Jui," in other words of the Right opportunists, was "unfair" and that the Right opportunists should come back to administer "court affairs," that is, to carry out their revisionist programme. It was then the urgent desire of the author to support a Right opportunist comeback and resumption of office so as to bring about the restoration of capitalism. This was also the common desire of the "brothers" of Three-Family Village.

The drama was praised and supported by certain people as soon as it was published; and the "brothers" of Three-Family Village went wild with joy in the belief that their vanguard had won the first

round. Rubbing his hands with glee, Liao Mo-sha wrote in the Peking *Evening News* on January 2, 1961, "After the winter drums have sounded, the spring grass begins to grow... An all-out effort will begin in spring." This was early spring for Three-Family Village. Then, on February 16, Liao Mo-sha wrote an open letter to Wu Han, "congratulating" him on "breaking through the door and dashing out... in order to encourage people to greater efforts." He suggested "a division of labour and cooperation" between "history" and "drama." On February 18, Wu Han in his role as vanguard replied to his "elder brother," "May I suggest to you, brother, that you too break through the door and dash out?" And he added boastfully, "You say I have broken through the door and dashed out; you have hit the nail on the head. That is precisely what I have done. This door must be broken through." What an aggressive posture, what brave airs! It really looked as if he meant to fight it out. He believed that the time for the offensive had arrived and that with the production of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office the winter drums had sounded and the gang should ready themselves for "an all-out effort."

On February 25, 1961, one week after the shout, "This door must be broken through!" Wu Han in an article "Meetings of 'Immortals' and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contending" burst out with the statement, "We must have a series of meetings of 'Immortals' at different levels right down to the grass roots... Since the men at the grass roots are doing practical work and are in touch with reality, their problems are more concrete, striking, and concentrated." He called on all those at the grass roots level "with misgivings in their hearts" to go into action. He shouted about "clearing away all obstacles along the forward path of contention by a hundred schools of thought." And he boasted smugly, "Perhaps I can be rated as an intellectual, having studied for more than forty years, taught in universities for some twenty years, and written several books." Thus he considered that, with his capital and the backing of the bosses behind the scenes, the time had come for the anticommunist bourgeois intellectuals to take the stage and show their prowess.

In March 1961, amid this great fanfare and in the "dramatic" atmosphere of night and cloud raised by *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*, immediately after Wu Han had "cleared the path" with his staff, the commanding general took the stage. With Evening Chats at Yenshan, he "broke through the door and dashed out" "at the suggestion of friends." Teng T'o said he had been "compelled to mount horse," but this is wrong. Rather, he was "begged to mount horse." After the vanguard had cleared the way, and with another "brother" wielding the whip for him, wasn't it time for the commanding general to mount horse?

Close on the heels of Wu Han's preface to "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" came "Notes from Three-Family Village." In August 1961, when the reactionary classes in the country were intensifying their attacks, Wu Han made a special point in his introduction to the same book, "This drama lays stress on the uprightness and tenacity of Hai Jui, who was undaunted by force, undismayed by failure, and determined to make a fresh start after defeat." He actively incited and supported the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office" to renew their attacks on the Party. In this preface, he gloated over the way in which his friends were helping to plan his campaign and claimed that his effort was "a modest spur to induce others to come forward with valuable contributions," to "induce" many other poisonous weeds to come out. Then on October 5, 1961, in an article entitled "Show Concern for All Things" in the column "Evening Chats at Yenshan," Teng T'o quoted the couplet:

> Sounds of wind, rain, and the reading of books all fill my ears; / Family, state, and world affairs, I show concern for them all.

He declared with deep feeling that this "fully reflected the political ideals of the scholars of the Tunglin party at that time," and that "this couplet has a really profound significance." The Tunglin party was an "opposition party" within the landlord class during the Ming Dynasty. The reason why Teng T'o so much admired their "political ideals" was

that the term "opposition party" resounded in his mind. Apparently, he felt that all the "sounds of wind and rain," all the ill winds and pestilential rains of the time, had induced such a state of restlessness that he must take a step further to live up to his "political ideals," "show concern for all things," and launch even more open attacks on the Party and on socialism. Only a few days later, on October 10, 1961, the "Three-Family Village" signboard was publicly hung up in Frontline, edited by Teng To, and this underground factory was turned into an open partnership. The three partners concentrated their fire, and in its first issues extremely vicious attacks, like "Great Empty Talk" and other articles, were launched against the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party.

The appearance of "Evening Chats at Yenshan" and "Notes from Three-Family Village" signified another offensive against the Party, which was planned, organized, and under direction, following up on "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office." Only by linking up the writings of the Three Families can we get to the bottom of this gangster inn's secrets.

A Black Line and Gusts of Ill Wind

Teng T'o explained how the topics for "Evening Chats at Yenshan" were chosen when he said, "I often thought of, saw, or heard of things which struck me as problems, and these at once provided topics." Since Teng T'o was in a position of leadership, what things did he see? What people did he hear talking? His remarks disclose that these evening chats were written to deal with "problems" from real life over which he felt dissatisfaction. Some of the vicious anti-Party and antisocialist stuff was first heard and then written up by him. In all cases, the points of departure and themes of these essays were important current political issues intimately bound up with reality, and were by no means just the "idealizing of the ancients." This clue, provided by the author himself, helps us to see clearly that "Evening Chats at Yenshan" and "Notes from Three-Family Village" are shot through and through with the same black anti-Party, antipopular, and

antisocialist line as that followed in "Hai Jui Scolds the Emperor" and "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office," namely, slanderous attacks on the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong; attacks on the general line of the Party; all-out support for the attacks of the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office" in an attempt to reverse earlier correct decisions concerning them; and support for the frenzied attacks of the feudal and capitalist forces. In step with the changes in the situation of the class struggle at home and abroad and with the different "problems" thought of, seen, and heard of, they selected different lines of attack and there was a division of labour, in which they complemented and responded to each other, in whipping up a succession of black waves and gusts of ill wind.

The Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, held in January 1961, pointed out:

> The great achievements of our country during the last three years show that the Party's general line for socialist construction, the big leap forward, and the people's communes suit the realities of China. . . .in view of the serious natural calamities which affected agricultural production for two successive years, the whole nation must concentrate in 1961 on strengthening the agricultural front.

The communique of this plenary session pointed out sharply:

> […] a very small number of unregenerate landlord and bourgeois elements, accounting for only a few percent of the population […] invariably try to stage a comeback. […] They have taken advantage of the difficulties caused by the natural calamities and of some shortcomings in the work at the primary levels to carry out sabotage. (*Communique of the Ninth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*)

These elements stirred up an anti-Party and antisocialist ill wind, did their utmost to slander and vilify the socialist cause of the Party and the people, and abused the Central Committee of the Party in a futile attempt to overthrow the Party's general line. Serving the political ends of the bourgeois and landlord class elements who were attempting a comeback, Evening Chats at Yenshan, which appeared soon after the plenary session, exploited certain economic difficulties caused by the grave natural calamities to concentrate on stirring up an evil flurry of attacks on the general line and on bolstering up the restorationist activities of the landlord and capitalist classes.

On March 26, 1961, Teng T'o raised the slogan, "Welcome the 'miscellaneous scholars.' " Who were these "miscellaneous scholars"? According to him, they were those "with a wide range of knowledge" and knowing "an assortment of bits of everything." He said: "The noted scholars of yore could all, more or less, be classified as miscellaneous scholars." He added the warning to the Party: "It will be a great loss to us if we now fail to acknowledge the great significance of the wide range of knowledge of the 'miscellaneous scholars' for all kinds of work of leadership and for scientific research work." "Work of leadership," please note. Here is the vital issue. From these words of Teng T'o's, it is quite clear that the "miscellaneous scholars" were none other than the unregenerate elements and intellectuals of the bourgeois and landlord classes, a handful of characters of dubious political background, as well as such reactionaries as the "scholars" of the landlord and bourgeois classes. The motley collection of the dead—emperors, generals, and ministers, scum of all sorts, feudal die-hards, and charlatans like geomancers—all of whom Teng T'o wrote about with great awe in his articles, have their memorial tablets in the ancestral temple of the "miscellaneous scholars." Using their "knowledge" as their capital, such characters are trying desperately to intrigue themselves or climb into leading positions at different levels and change the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In demanding that we recognize the "great significance" of the "miscellaneous scholars" for the "work of

leadership," Teng To was in effect, demanding that the Party open the door to those "miscellaneous scholars" who had taken the capitalist road and allow them to lead in "all kinds of work of leadership" and in "scientific research work"—in other words, in the academic and ideological fields—and so to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. He styled himself a first-rate "miscellaneous scholar." At that time some bourgeois elements were eagerly urging the "leadership" to "respect" their "wide range of knowledge" of how to carry out capitalist exploitation. They wanted to use this "knowledge" of theirs to change socialist enterprises into capitalist enterprises. The slogan "Welcome the 'miscellaneous scholars' " raised by Three-Family Village in support of the seizure of leadership by members of the exploiting classes must not be regarded as mere empty talk. Did not the "miscellaneous scholars" of Three-Family Village actually control a number of leading positions?

On April 13, 1961, Teng To demanded in his essay "Guide Rather than Block" that "everything" should be "actively guided to facilitate its smooth development." "Blocking the path of the movement and development of things" is "doomed to failure." "Everything," please note, including those dark, reactionary things that are anti-Party and antisocialist. If we are to persist in the socialist road, we have to block the road to the restoration of capitalism; if we are to support all newborn, revolutionary things, we have to strike down all decadent, counterrevolutionary things. As the saying goes: "There is no construction without destruction, no flowing without damming, and no motion without rest." To clear the way for the tide of revolution, we must dam the tide of reaction. By demanding that instead of blocking we should "facilitate the smooth development" of "everything," including antisocialist things, was not Teng T'o clearly demanding that we should practise bourgeois liberalization and bend and surrender to the ill winds which were blowing at the time, the winds of "going it alone" (i.e., the restoration of individual economy) and of the extension of plots for private use and of free markets, the increase of small enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits or losses, and the fixing of output quotas based on the

household? "Guiding" meant paving the way, and these men styled themselves "the vanguard paving the way"—for the capitalist forces. Three-Family Village counted on the "failure" of socialism and the "certain triumph" of the black wind of capitalist restoration, and thought they could now openly throw themselves into the arms of the reactionary forces for the development of capitalism!

On April 30, 1961, in an essay "The Theory of Treasuring Labour Power," Teng T'o levelled a direct attack on us for not "treasuring labour power." Mentioning the dictatorship of the proletariat and that of the landlord class in the same breath, he argued that "as far back as the periods of the Spring and Autumn Annals and the Warring States and thereabout," the exploiting classes "discovered certain objective laws governing the increase and decrease of labour power […] through the experience of their rule" and were able to calculate the limits on "the labour power to be used in different kinds of capital construction." Teng T'o demanded that "we should draw new enlightenment from the experience of the ancients, and take care to do more in every way to treasure our labour power." Everybody knows that we give the utmost attention to treasuring labour power. In all its work the Chinese Communist Party proceeds from the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people and is wholeheartedly in their service. On the other hand, none of the slave-owner and landlord classes in history cared about anything but the insatiable and cruel exploitation of the working people, thus arousing the slaves and the peasants to one great uprising after another. How could they recognize the "objective laws governing the increase and decrease of labour power"? All this was merely an attempt to slander the general line and the Great Leap Forward as not "treasuring labour power" by exploiting the temporary difficulties caused by the natural calamities at the time, and a demand that we should give up the general line of going all out, aiming high, and building socialism with greater, quicker, better, and more economical results, give up developing agriculture in a big way and abandon the revolutionary policy of energetically building a prosperous country through self-reliance, but instead use the landlord class's "experience as rulers" to undermine

the dictatorship of the proletariat. What Teng T'o was saying, in other words, was this: It is "beyond your capacity" to carry on through self-reliance. This is "excessively forced." Call a halt at once. Give it up quickly and use the old methods of the "miscellaneous scholars" of the landlord class! Was this not clearly coordinated with the vicious attacks of U.S. imperialism and modern revisionism? Had we followed this line, not only would we have had no Taching, no Tachai, no atom bombs, but we would have been reduced to an imperialist colony.

It is by no means accidental that both before and after the publication of this article, Teng T'o ranted in favour of learning from the Khrushchev revisionist clique. In his essay "The Way to Make Friends and Entertain Guests," he advocated "learning from" and "uniting with" countries "stronger than our own" and said, "We should be pleased if a friend is stronger than we are." In the essay "From Three to Ten Thousand," he swore, "If a man with a swelled head thinks he can learn a subject with ease and kicks his teacher out, he will never learn anything." This was a vicious attack on our struggle against modern revisionism and a demand that we ask the revisionists in and let the wolves into the house. We want to learn from all the experience and lessons beneficial to socialist construction that the world provides, but we must never learn from revisionism. We warmly welcome the victorious development of every revolutionary cause, but we must never welcome revisionism. In his series of indirect accusations "reviling the locust tree while pointing to the mulberry," Teng T'o sings exactly the same tune as the Right opportunists, slandering the Party line for socialist construction as "forced" and claiming that China's only "way out" is to "learn from" the Soviet revisionist clique and practise revisionism in China.

In stirring up this evil wind, Three-Family Village raised a hullabaloo and cleared the way for the release of all kinds of monsters from confinement, collaborating from within with sinister forces from without. In league with the reactionaries in China and abroad and with the modern revisionists, it made dastardly attacks on the Party's general line for socialist construction, the Great Leap Forward, and

the people's communes, and painted modern revisionism in glowing colours in a vain attempt to create public opinion favourable to a comeback by the Right opportunists.

In June and July 1961, Three-Family Village let loose another vicious blast. July 1 was the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party of China. Holding high the red banner of the general line, the great, glorious, and correct Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong was leading the Chinese people forward triumphantly along the socialist road amidst sharp struggles against reactionaries in China and abroad and against serious natural calamities. Not reconciled to their defeat, the domestic reactionary forces and the Right opportunists who had been dismissed from office were trying harder than ever to have the previous decisions reversed, in an attempt to negate the repudiation of the Right opportunists at the Lushan meeting and the fruits of the various other major political struggles since liberation. It was at this moment that the "brothers" of Three-Family Village shot poisoned arrows thick and fast at the Central Committee of the Party in support of the Right opportunists.

On June 7,1961, Wu Han described another "trumped-up case" in an insidious article ostensibly written in memory of Yu Chien. He glorified Yu Chien who had been dismissed from office, calling him "unbending and simple," and a man whose "spirit will live for ever." He made a point of stating that Yu Chien had been "rehabilitated," that "Yu Chien's political enemies failed one after another," and that he was moreover appointed "secretary of war (minister of national defense)." "Rehabilitate" is a modern term which no emperor would ever have used. By using it, Wu Han betrayed what was in his mind, namely, that the proletarian revolutionaries would fail one after another and the Right opportunists would soon be rehabilitated.

On June 22, 1961, shortly after Wu Han's article on Yu Chien, Teng T'o published "The Case of Chen Chiang and Wang Keng." It was so blatantly vicious that the author's heart misgave him and he dared not include it in the collected volumes of Evening Chats at Yenshan. We can find it, however, in the Evening Chats column in the Peking Evening News. The author claims to have picked this

"anecdote" up from some old books because it was so "thought-provoking." The article threw out hints about a "deliberately exaggerated and trumped-up case," but the revelation comes in the last paragraph, which reads:

> By the reign of Empress Dowager Ming Su, the Sung government was growing daily more corrupt. There was no intelligent and capable prime minister at the top with responsible assistants to take charge of personnel and administration, while the local officials lower down did exactly as they pleased.

As a result, he wrote, "this case was inflated and complicated." This was venomous slander, directed against our Party and expressed in the counterrevolutionary language of landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and Rightists. The ostensible attack on Empress Dowager Ming Su and on the prime minister was a malevolent denigration of the Central Committee of the Party, while the statement that "local officials lower down did exactly as they pleased" was a malicious denunciation of Party cadres at various levels, a charge that the Right opportunists and other anti-Party elements had been unjustly treated. He even used the modern term "inflated." What sort of thought was provoked? Was it not the thought that would pave the way for reversing the previous decisions on the Right opportunists and other anti-Party elements? Was it not the thought that would release monsters to attack socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat? What is particularly interesting is the fact that Teng T'o pinned his hope of reversing the previous decisions on an "intelligent and capable prime minister" coming forward and seizing the leadership. To those with discerning eyes, it is as clear as daylight what kind of people he was appealing to for the seizure of power. This is the true voice of the commanding general of Three-Family Village. He refrained from including this article in the collection, but the harder one tries to conceal a thing, the more it attracts attention.

At the same time, in another article "The Prosperity and Decline of Two Temples," Teng T'o gave full vent to his feelings about the fate of two temples. One had had many worshippers and was "famed far and near," while the other was "in decline" and "ignored all along." For fear that others might not understand his meaning, he urged readers to apply this to "similar situations," implying that we had cold shouldered the Right opportunists and stopped paying tribute to them. Teng T'o expressed strong dissatisfaction over the fate of being "ignored all along" that had overtaken those anti-Party, antisocialist clay idols who had fallen from their political pedestals, the Right opportunists and other anti-Party elements who were utterly spurned by the Party and the people. He wanted the Party to "esteem" them highly again, to put these clay idols "in decline" back in their shrines.

Immediately afterwards, Wu Han in his introduction to "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" cried even more openly, "Although Hai Jui lost his post, he did not give in or lose heart." He shouted about the need to be "undismayed by failure and determined to make a fresh start after defeat." This was the common cry of Three-Family Village at the time, and certainly not an isolated phenomenon. They not only incited the Right opportunists to try again, but also redoubled their own efforts.

On July 25, 1962, Three-Family Village came out with a most venomous anticommunist article, entitled "Special Treatment for 'Amnesia.' " They vilified responsible Party members as suffering from "amnesia," which made them "quickly forget what they have seen and said. . .go back on their own word, fail to keep faith, "and become quite "capricious." They proposed "hitting the patient over the head with a special club to induce a state of 'shock.' " They were not only using exactly the same language as the Right opportunists to slander the Central Committee of the Party which they hated; they actually wanted to finish off the proletarian revolutionary fighters with one blow. What poison! Were they not hoping to render revolutionaries unconscious or kill them so that revisionism could seize power? This article was a stark revelation of their deep class

hatred for the Party, an attack on our Party made completely from the stand of the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and Rightists.

The series of facts listed above definitely proves that "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" not only represented Wu Han's personal political attitude but was a prelude to the anti-Party, antisocialist political activities of the Three-Family Village clique in support of the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office." The members of this small clique, who pinned their hope on the seizure of power in the Party and government by the anti-Party, antisocialist elements, stirred up an adverse current. "Like mayflies trying to topple the giant tree, they ridiculously overrated themselves"—the slanderous attacks by this handful of anti-Party, antisocialist elements could not damage the great prestige of our Party in the least, but only revealed their own criminal features, aroused the people's anger, and ended up in their repudiation by the Party and the people.

The Three-Family Village offensive was at its most frenzied from the start of publication of Notes from Three-Family Village until March 1962, when the Third Session of the Second National People's Congress met. In the first place, during this period, the imperialists, reactionaries, and modern revisionists abroad had intensified their anti-China chorus, which was very noisy for a time. At the Twenty-second Congress of the C.P.S.U. in October 1961, the leadership of the C.P.S.U. systematized the revisionist line which it had been gradually developing since the Twentieth Congress, and pushed further ahead with its revisionist political line for splitting the international communist movement and restoring capitalism. In China, the reactionary classes and their political agents, aiming to come back to power, took advantage of the three consecutive years of serious natural calamities we had suffered to launch a still wilder all-out attack in the political, economic, and cultural fields in a futile attempt to overthrow the Party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat at the very time when we were implementing the policy of "readjustment, consolidation, filling out, and raising of standards."

Two articles typified how Three-Family Village sized up the situation during this period. The first, "On Waves" by Wu Han, appeared on January 1, 1962. With irrepressible fanaticism he hailed the "wave" that had been pounding society "during the past half year and more." He joyously declared that "this is a really big tidal wave," advertising the countercurrent against the Party leadership and the dictatorship of the proletariat as one of its achievements. He predicted that this "tidal wave" would grow "bigger and bigger." Blinded by inordinate ambition, Wu Han believed that the gang he belonged to would win and the adverse current of revisionism would become the main stream. Shortly afterwards, on February 4, in his article "This Year's Spring Festival" which later he dared not include in the collection Evening Chats, Teng T'o wrote even more explicitly, "The bitter cold of the north wind will soon come to an end. In its stead a warm east wind will blow and a thaw will soon set in on this earth." Was not "thaw" one of the terms in the out-and-out counterrevolutionary vocabulary used by the Khrushchev revisionist clique against Stalin? Blinded by inordinate ambition, this gang now predicted that by 1962 socialist New China would "soon come to an end," that the dictatorship of the proletariat would be toppled by the antisocialist adverse "tidal wave," and "in its stead" there would be a Right-opportunist or revisionist regime, that Three-Family Village would gain greater influence and would be able to do whatever it wanted. Comrades, you can see how eagerly this group wished China to have a revisionist "thaw"!

It was with this estimate of the situation that Three-Family Village launched its wild all-out offensive.

On November 10, 1961, Teng T'o came out with his article "Great Empty Talk" in Notes from Three-Family Village. In ostensibly criticizing a child's poem, he indirectly condemned the statement that "the East wind is our benefactor and the West wind is our enemy" as "empty talk," "jargon," "cliches," and "pomposity." This was a flagrant denigration of the Marxist-Leninist scientific thesis that "the East wind prevails over the West wind" as "empty talk." Teng T'o said, "In certain special situations such great empty talk is inevitable,"

hinting to readers that what he was condemning was not the child's poem but our Party's ideological weapon for carrying on the struggle and educating the masses in "special situations," that is, in the international and domestic class struggle. What was Teng T'o's purpose? It was to slander the great thought of Mao Zedong, which leads us forward, as "empty talk," to get us to abandon Mao Zedong's thought in our political life, and to give up the Marxist-Leninist line. He went so far as to make the arrogant demand that our Party should "say less and take a rest when the time comes for talking." If Mao Zedong's thought were laid to rest, would it not become possible for revisionist ideas to run rampant? This desperate denunciation of Mao Zedong's thought could not do it the least harm; on the contrary, it showed even more clearly that Mao Zedong's thought is an ideological weapon of unlimited revolutionary force which makes all monsters tremble with fright.

In close coordination with the above, Three-Family Village brought out a series of articles attacking Mao Zedong's thought and maligning revolutionaries. Evening Chats at Yenshan came out with the article "Give It Up and You Will Be on Firm Ground." Its central idea was that the Party should "give up" the general line for socialist construction, and it ridiculed those who would not give it up for being "blind" and "looking for trouble." It demanded that the Party should "boldly give it up" so as to come down to "firm ground," i.e., the ground of capitalism. On November 25, Liao Mo-sha also published two articles, "Wherein Lies Confucius' Greatness?" and "Jokes About Being Afraid of Ghosts." In the first, he sang the praises of Confucius for being "rather 'democratic' and welcoming criticisms of his theories," implying that the Party should encourage bourgeois democracy and thus allow the reactionary elements to come forward and attack Mao Zedong's thought. In the second, he vindictively slandered Mao Zedong's thought and vilified revolutionary Marxist-Leninists as "braggarts. . .who claim that they are not afraid of ghosts but are actually frightened out of their wits by them." He tried to show them up as "utterly ridiculous." Everybody knows that the great Chinese Communist Party and the great Chinese people, educated by

Mao Zedong's thought, are not only not afraid of monsters and ghosts, but are determined to destroy all the monsters and ghosts in the world.

Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards,
And wild bears never daunt the brave.

This couplet sums up the fearless heroism of the great Chinese people. Such heroism prevails over all evil trends. Liao Mo-sha even planned to edit a collection of Stories About Being Afraid of Ghosts. Was this not open collaboration with the reactionaries, both in China and abroad, and the modern revisionists to defame the Chinese people who are not afraid of ghosts, to defame our Party and the revolutionaries who persist in following Mao Zedong's thought?

The day after the appearance of these two articles, "Two Foreign Fables" was published in the Evening Chats at Yenshan column as a further attack on so-called bragging. It claimed that "even now one can always and everywhere find such braggarts," and clamoured viciously, "We must not let these charlatans off lightly." Do you want revolution? Do you want to keep the interests of the country and those of the world at heart? Do you want to rely on your own efforts to overcome difficulties? All this is "bragging" and "boasting." Three-Family Village will settle accounts with you. When this article was included in the collection, the author deleted the sentence, "Instead of being overcome, difficulties will daily grow in number and seriousness." See how maliciously these men ridiculed our Party's policy of self-reliance in overcoming difficulties! They even thought that the difficulties would grow in number. A little later, Wu Han in his article "Chao Kuo and Ma Su" made use of two historical tales about what he called "talking big to impress people" and "boasting" in order to satirize the present and urge us to "review now" the "lessons of failure," the "lessons of harming oneself and others and ruining the country." Obviously, Wu Han imagined that the great Chinese people had "come to grief," that the general line had "failed," and that the Right opportunists would soon come to power. The gust of foul wind which started with Teng T'o's "Great Empty Talk" was

closely coordinated with the clamor for the advent of the Right opportunists to power. As we read these words again today, at a time when a vigorous new upsurge is taking place in China's socialist construction, we can come to only one conclusion—such anti-Party and antisocialist "heroes" are never able to see the great strength of the masses, they are blinder than the blind in their estimate of the political situation.

Comrades and friends! These slanders and attacks, with Teng T'o's articles at their core, were made within such a short period of time, concentrating on the same targets and using identical terms. Is it possible1 that they were not organized and coordinated in a planned way? How frenzied they are in opposing the Party and socialism! How can we fail to be aroused to great indignation! How is it possible for us not to smash them to smithereens!

A subsequent series of articles also "breaking through the door and dashing out" directed the attack even more crudely against the Central Committee of the Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong. In an exceptionally savage attack, they shifted the emphasis from political to organizational problems.

In an article "Is Wisdom Reliable?" published on February 22, 1962, Teng T'o urged the "emperor" to "seek advice from all sides." He emphasized that "one need not plan everything oneself and said with ulterior motives that "when a man plans everything himself, flatterers will seize the chance to say things to please him." By this he certainly did not mean that those in leading positions should listen modestly to opinions from below; what he wanted was the acceptance by the Central Committee of the Party of the revisionist line which he and his like supported. They insolently warned the Party, "One will eventually suffer heavy reverses" if "one makes all decisions oneself in the hope of achieving success with original ideas," without accepting "good advice" from "below," in other words from Three-Family Village. This was an open demand that their scheme to restore capitalism should be made by the Party line and a scurrilous aspersion on the Central Committee of the Party. Their "good advice" was that we should take the revisionist road and restore capitalism, which

would throw more than 90 percent of the Chinese people back into a state of dark and cruel oppression. This "good advice" was exceedingly bad advice. Here, as on the question of fragrant flowers and poisonous weeds, the revolutionary people and the handful of anti-Party, anti-socialist elements are diametrically opposed in their views on what is good and what is bad. They do not speak a common language.

On February 25, 1962, only three days later, there appeared another article, "The Royal Way and the Tyrant's Way." Now the Marxist theory of the state teaches us that both the "royal way" and the "tyrant's way" are ways of dictatorship by the landlord class, forms of counterrevolutionary violence. However royal in appearance, all landlord rule was nevertheless essentially tyrannical. "Benevolent government," so-called, was merely a mask for sanguinary counterrevolutionary violence. As Lu Hsun sharply pointed out, "Though the Chinese royal way appears to be the opposite of the tyrant's way, in actual fact they are complementary. The tyrant's way invariably precedes and succeeds the royal way." (*Collected Works of Lu Hsun*, Chinese edition, Vol. 6, Peking: People's Literature Publishing House, 1963, p. 10.) Teng T'o, however, extolled the "royal way," saying that "after all, even in ancient times the royal way was much better than the tyrant's way." Why did he eulogize the dictatorship of the landlord class in this most absurd manner? He did so with the aim of making us accept the "lesson" he had fabricated: "Thus people can see at a glance how those who wanted to be tyrants made enemies everywhere and became very unpopular." He even translated this into "our language" (the language of Three-Family Village), saying that "by the tyrant's way. . .we mean the arrogant, subjectivist and arbitrary way of thinking and style of work of one bent on acting willfully." Isn't this a tune we have heard only too often? The modern revisionists have been eulogizing U.S. imperialism, which is vainly attempting to establish world hegemony, as an angel of peace, and have been calumniating China, which is firmly opposing U.S. imperialism, as "bellicose" and "seeking hegemony." At home, the reactionary classes actively advocated the

liquidation of struggle in our relations with imperialism, the reactionaries of various countries, and modern revisionism and the reduction of assistance and support to the revolutionary struggle of other peoples, and attacked us as being "isolated" and "making enemies everywhere." If we compare the language used, it is. evident that when Evening Chats at Yenshan slandered those who "wanted to be tyrants," "made enemies everywhere," "became unpopular," and were "bent on acting willfully," their target was the revolutionary line of our dictatorship of the proletariat, and they were parroting the reactionaries in China and abroad. This was certainly not merely a question of "idealizing the feudal social system," as the article in the Peking Daily claimed.

On March 29, 1962, there appeared the article "In Defense of Li San-tsai." The title itself was odd. Nobody in our time was attacking Li San-tsai, who lived four hundred years ago; so why this cry for the "defense of Li San-tsai"? According to the article, Li San-tsai "was a positive historical figure," a great hero who "attacked the dark politics of feudalism." But when we look up the History of the Ming Dynasty, we find something quite different. He was a butcher who ferociously suppressed peasant uprisings, who "used many tactics to capture and destroy big brigands and evil men," and whose life was a record of sanguinary crimes. He was an out-and-out flunkey of the landlord class, a loyal servant of the "dark politics of feudalism," who repeatedly memorialized the emperor to wipe out those he called "troublemakers" and "big brigands" in order to "preserve for ever" the rule of the landlord class. Now what was the real purpose of "defending" such a man?

In fact, Li San-tsai was a careerist who wanted to climb into the cabinet. Because he was at loggerheads with the ruling faction of the landlord class, he kept attacking them as a member of an "opposition party," and used the slogan of "pleading for the people" in his memorials to the emperor. In this dogfight, he was "dismissed from office." Teng T'o praised this member of the "opposition party" who was "dismissed from office" and passed him off as a great hero because he wanted to use this dead man to defend the Right

opportunists. He focussed on what happened after Li's dismissal. "Even after Li San-tsai had retired to his home, charges of 'stealing imperial timber to build a private mansion' were brought against him, etc. . . .Li San-tsai wrote memorials time and again. . .but the court of Emperor Wan Li dared not make a thorough investigation." This statement, "dared not make a thorough investigation," was concocted to hint at something else, since the historical records make it clear that certain officials did go to investigate the matter. Teng T'o simply wanted to use it to laud to the skies the Right opportunists who had been "dismissed from office," to obstruct the struggle of the revolutionary people to make further investigations into their criminal activities, to have the verdict on them reversed, and to back them in their renewed attacks on the Party by writing "memorials."

"In Defense of Li San-tsai" was a sequel to Hai Jui Dismissed from Office. Li San-tsai was just another Hai Jui, another "upright official" dismissed from office. Isn't this abundantly clear?

Instances of Three-Family Village's direct attacks on the Central Committee of the Party, on Chairman Mao and the general line are too numerous to quote. But it is clear even from some of the evil blasts after the publication of "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" how shocking the secrets of Three-Family Village are, what virulent class hatred this handful of men have for the Party and the cause of socialism, and what lavish praise and support they have given the Right opportunists, i.e., the revisionists. They hoped that China would change its colour from red to black. Their "gangster inn" is an important den of restorers of capitalism, a nest of poisonous snakes which we must expose thoroughly and destroy completely. Our fighting task today is to step forward and destroy Three-Family Village and carry the revolution through to the end!

Doing Everything Possible to Promote "Peaceful Evolution"

In addition to writings openly opposing the Party, the people, and socialism, Evening Chats at Yenshan and Notes from Three-Family Village contained most poisonous weeds in the form of so-called

"academic discussion," "textual research," and "relaxation." Under the cover of "learning useful knowledge, both ancient and modern," they launched all-round attacks on socialism. They did not merely "idealize the feudal social system" and "glorify dead men," but had their own practical political objectives. On the one hand, in coordination with the black line of shameless opposition to the Party, the people, and socialism, they used the cover of "history," "knowledge," and "things of interest" to dull the revolutionary vigilance of the people, hoodwink more readers, and extend their influence. On the other hand, they employed what is called "the gentle method of decapitation" to conduct all-round attacks on the proletarian line consistently upheld by the Party and Comrade Mao Zedong in all fields, and used the ideas of the landlord and bourgeois classes to corrode the revolutionary cadres and revolutionary people in every way in order to promote "peaceful evolution." Whoever is addicted to and obsessed by all this will degenerate and become a new bourgeois element. The dual tactics of Three-Family Village consisted of using sharp poisonous arrows and all kinds of sugar-coated bullets.

In the very first article of his Evening Chats at Yenshan, Teng To put up the signboard of grasping "one-third of life." He said that "people's attention should be called to treasuring one-third of one's life [i.e., one-third of 24 hours each day] so that, after a day's labour or work, everyone can learn some useful knowledge, both ancient and modern, in a relaxed mood." Taken at face value, "one-third" referred to one's spare time. But of course what Three-Family Village wanted was not merely this "one-third," its real aim being to subvert the entire system of the dictatorship of the proletariat and bring about the restoration of capitalism. But "one-third" could very well serve as a smokescreen for seizing the remaining "two-thirds." In asking everyone to read Evening Chats at Yenshan "in a relaxed mood," they were trying to dull the people's revolutionary vigilance; beginning by corroding "one-third of the life" of those who were not firm in their revolutionary stand, they aimed at corroding the whole of their lives and making them serve as the organized force and social basis for the

Three-Family Village clique in recruiting more and more people and promoting "peaceful evolution."

Making abundant use of the form of replies to readers, Teng T'o spoke at length in his articles in Evening Chats at Yenshan of how he received young people, of how he got "enlightenment" and "suggestions" from "fellow townsmen," "comrades," "friends," "children," "editors," "students," and "teachers" and even from the "working staff in various departments, and of how he answered their "questions." It can be seen from all this how extensive were the activities of Three-Family Village. The spreading of antisocialist ideas went hand in hand with these extensive activities of theirs. They poisoned the minds of some persons and pulled people over to their side. Under the cover of imparting knowledge, they feverishly tried to lure young people into the Three-Family Village gangster inn. Suffice it to mention only two examples. In "Poor, But with Lofty Ideals," Teng T'o said, "The day before yesterday, a young student came to see me. ... He said that he intended to write a paraphrase in the vernacular of the Lives of Poor Scholars by Huang Chi-shui of the Ming Dynasty and asked me if I approved of the idea." The Lives of Poor Scholars is the biography of members of decayed landlord families; in particular, it is a eulogy of the "moral integrity" of the landlord class and therefore can have [the] most pernicious influence on people today. This student was seriously corrupted by bourgeois ideology, but he had not yet made up his mind whether or not to write the paraphrase. It must have seemed to Teng T'o that he had hit the jackpot. He not only praised the student's intention as a "very good idea" but immediately seized the opportunity for a long political lecture, linking the work of paraphrasing the Lives of Poor Scholars with the idea of showing "respect" for the landlord class and of learning from its "lofty moral integrity," and insinuated that the biography could be used as an "example to learn from" for certain people "when they happened to meet with unexpected difficulties in the future." Is this not clearly a case of pushing someone down a well and then dropping rocks on him? Is this not using the student to serve the "poor scholars" of today, that is, the antisocialist elements?

Another fellow, "a student writing from the Peking Broadcasting Institute," was also strongly influenced by bourgeois ideology. Obsessed by vulgar interests, this student saw nothing but the "long hair of a certain woman on a bus," and he asked Teng T'o to tell him "what inspiration we can get from such long hair." Teng To promptly wrote an article that is typical of the decadent class. He not only supported this student but also widely publicized various cases of "long-haired beauties" from the most licentious imperial courts in history. Is this not leading those who are already corrupted by bourgeois ideology further down the road of decadence and turning them into new bourgeois elements? All the young people who have been under the corrupting and seductive influence of Three-Family Village should step forward and indict Teng To and his gang for their criminal schemes.

When one looks from this standpoint at these writings advocating a reactionary ideology, their political aims are only too clear.

Teng T'o and his gang energetically pursued a reactionary bourgeois educational line, preparing their forces organizationally for the restoration of capitalism. Using the bourgeois theory of human nature as the basis of education, they preached that "one should, in the main, agree with Mencius when he said that 'all men are born good.' " They opposed the use of the class viewpoint for analysis and for educating the younger generation in an attempt to cover up their crime of poisoning the minds of young people. They went so far as to assert that "the whole set of methods used by opera schools of the old type was in line with educational principles" and that "it should be completely adopted in every field of society." They wanted to replace the class line by the so-called principle of "employing people according to their talents" and thereby to train large numbers of successors of the landlords and bourgeoisie "in a planned way." They did their best to spread such ideas among the young people as "the method of combining teaching oneself with family tradition," "becoming a famous scholar" through "hard study," "laying a foundation" by "reading all the materials available," etc. Here the

question is not merely one of seeking fame and becoming an expert in the bourgeois way; more important is the fact that they intended to corrode and drag over some people by this method, assemble a bunch of disciples of Three-Family Village, turn them into propagators of their anticommunist ideas, and transform certain young people into instruments of Three-Family Village for restoring capitalism. Using honeyed words to lure the youth to become "scholars" and "famous persons," the Three-Family Village clique harboured most vicious designs.

They persisted in a reactionary bourgeois line in academic work, preparing the intellectual ground for the restoration of capitalism. They raised the slogan of "learn more and criticize less," saying: "The attitude to take toward everything is to learn more and criticize less." They pilloried those holding the revolutionary banner high as "fault-finders," who "love to resort to censure at the slightest opportunity" and who "are bound to come to grief." What does the slogan "learn more and criticize less" mean? It means that while they should be allowed to malign Mao Zedong's thought, extol landlord and bourgeois culture, and strive for the restoration of capitalism by their "academic work," we should not be allowed to criticize the culture of the bourgeoisie and landlord class, and the revolutionary people are to be deprived of the right to criticize them. All this amounts to saying that the culture of the exploiting classes has to be accepted in its entirety and regarded as sacrosanct imperial edicts. The core of their reactionary academic line is attack on the proletariat, support for the bourgeoisie, the strengthening of the control exercised by their gang over academic departments, and encouragement for the unrestrained growth of all poisonous weeds, including the highly poisonous ones of Three-Family Village.

The same is true of literature and art. In line with "learning more and criticizing less," they created the slogan "give equal treatment to everything." They said, "All dramatic works are equal, be the themes modern or traditional. We must give equal treatment to both." In class society, there is no such thing as supraclass equality, and equality between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie simply does

not exist. The only question is who will win. Support for the revolutionary modern drama of the proletariat necessarily calls for criticism of the old drama of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie. To proclaim that "there are good plays completely suited to present-day needs" in the "dramatic heritage" inevitably brings in its wake attack on and suppression of revolutionary modern drama. Their intention in raising the slogan "give equal treatment to everything" was to kill two birds with one stone: to attack all measures of full support to revolutionary modern drama as well as to boost the numerous poisonous weeds and protect them against criticism, thus making these weeds serve their anti-Party and antisocial-ist activities.

They persistently upheld the reactionary moral code of the landlords and the bourgeoisie in an effort to restore the rule of the exploiting classes in the field of social relations. They recommended these classes' utterly decadent philosophy of life, including "moral integrity," "loftiness and aloofness," "patience," "moneymaking," etc. They advocated learning "the virtue of patience" from the reactionary philosopher Chu Hsi, the "refractory spirit" of "contempt for labour" from Chang Shih, the method of "complying with the rites by setting restraints on oneself from Confucius, etc. They even urged the restoration of the feudal form of greeting—clasping one's own hands in front. This amounts to an open appeal for us to go back to the old China of feudalism and capitalism! Comrades! Just imagine. If all these things came to pass, wouldn't all the new communist morality and practices be trampled underfoot? Wouldn't our society be turned into a dark world with the feudal order as its standard? If we were to show respect for elements of the exploiting classes when seeing them, wouldn't it mean that the counterrevolutionaries had regained power? Wouldn't the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers be once again subjected to cruel oppression by these "gentlemen" with "moral integrity," these stubborn elements of the exploiting classes?

As dutiful sons of the landlord class, they publicly demanded that biographies of its members should be written up. Please read this passage by Teng To:

> In the past, in editing the local chronicles of various places, it used to be the practice to list the "rural gentry" and then collect data and write separate biographies of each one. If we should now compile the chronicles of Peking, we should obviously consider giving proper place to the old and young Mi's of Wanping (referring to Mi Wan-chung and Mi Han-wen, bureaucrats of the Ming and Ching Dynasties respectively).

"In the past" means the era of feudalism and the period of reactionary Kuomintang rule; "it used to be the practice" means the "practice" followed by the landlords and squires, particularly the despotic landlords, and all those nauseatingly acclaimed as "rural gentry" [who] were prominent members of this class. That "we should now" write biographies of the "rural gentry" means that the landlords and local despots, overthrown since the land reform, should be placed on top again together with their ancestral tablets and that the broad masses of the poor and lower-middle peasants should be trodden down again by the "rural gentry." This shows that their madness knows no bounds. Responding to the call of the commanding general, Notes from Three-Family Village brought up this question time and again, demanding that warlords, bureaucrats, landlords, and other "negative figures" be honoured with biographies. This was an attempt at restoration in the most profound sense of the term. It was precisely an attempt to increase the political capital of the landlord class and the bourgeoisie and to create conditions for them to rule again over the Chinese people. The masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers will never permit the purposes of such criminal activities to be attained!

What has been given here is only a fraction of the relevant material. Even so, it can be seen that all propaganda put forth under the guise of imparting "learning" and "knowledge" has a single focus—opposition to Mao Zedong's thought, the total negation of socialism, the effort to bring about the degeneration of cadres and

young people, and the complete and out-and-out restoration of capitalism.

Comrade Mao Zedong has said, "The proletariat seeks to transform the world according to its own world outlook, so does the bourgeoisie" ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People"). Three-Family Village relished portraying all that was decadent and reactionary, and this exposes its reactionary world outlook. Here one can see right into the rotten souls of the warriors of Three-Family Village. Wu Han has an "epigram": "Spare time is a free world where one's prime interest can roam at will." This reveals that when they donned the communist cloak to attend meetings, do their work, give reports . . ., all this was a disguise which they assumed reluctantly, and not their "prime interest." It was during their "spare time" at Three-Family Village that their true countenance, their "prime interest," came out without inhibitions. Apart from conspiring against the Party and socialism, they indulged in gluttony and pleasure hunting, gossiped about raising cats and dogs, lauded landlords, collected antiques, played mah-jong, and engaged in trade and in the same kind of pursuits that are common among Soviet revisionist intellectuals. They were capable of indulging in all kinds of rottenness ranging from acidly reciting the poet Tu Fu's lines, "The rich do not die of hunger, Most scholars fail in their career," to getting sweet inspiration from the "miracle of long-haired beauties." They are double-dealing hypocrites. They have put some of their ideas into words to corrupt our people and our Party.

Do you want to know the meaning of "peaceful evolution"? Then just look at the living examples of Three-Family Village. All their nasty talk, their activities and aims add up to "peaceful evolution" in the truest sense of the term. We can draw profound lessons about class struggle from these horrid teachers by negative example.

Strategems in Retreat

In September 1962, the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party was convened. At this meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong issued the great call to the whole Party and the people throughout the country never to forget class struggle. The meeting raised high the great red banner of Mao Zedong's thought and sounded the clarion call for resolute struggle against the forces of capitalism and feudalism seeking restoration. It pointed out, "This class struggle inevitably finds expression within the Party." Deeply alarmed, the monsters and freaks of all descriptions trembled with fright. Seeing bad weather ahead, Three-Family Village began to beat a retreat, with its commanding general withdrawing first. Soon afterwards, in his "Announcement to Readers" in the fifth volume of "Evening Chats at Yenshan" in October 1962, Teng To said, "I am discontinuing "Evening Chats at Yenshan" because I have recently turned my attention to other things in my spare time."

The last essay in "Evening Chats at Yenshan" published on September 2, 1962, was entitled "Thirty-six Stratagems." "Of all the thirty-six stratagems, to depart is best." This remark indicated that he was about to slink away. However, in collecting these "chats" in one volume, the author, fearing that this might leave a trace of his slinking away, placed this particular essay in the middle of the volume instead of at the end in disregard of the order of publication. This article says with a deep implication:

> "To depart is best" was not the only stratagem Tan Tao-chi then employed; without employing other stratagems he could not have succeeded in getting away, much as he wanted to. It was thanks to several coordinated stratagems he employed, such as those of deceptive military deployment and sowing discord among the enemy. . . that he succeeded in making good his retreat.

After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, Three-Family Village, besides continuing its attacks, did

indeed employ "several coordinated stratagems" with the intention of "making good its retreat" once the revolutionary people started their counterattack. This is why they have staged numerous other fascinating performances. Let us see some of their stratagems:

1. Making the following hypocritical announcement in the fifth volume of "Evening Chats at Yenshan":

> For some time I have been compelled to "mount horse" in writing "Evening Chats," and I now dismount in order not to feel dissatisfied with myself any more. It will not be too late to write again when there is really something to write about in future and when I feel the urge to do so.

Here Teng T'o was trying on the one hand to explain that he had not made deliberate attacks and that both in "mounting" and "dismounting" he was acting under compulsion and, on the other hand, to give a hint that "in future" when the situation became favourable, he would write again and start all over again.

2. Retaining their position, namely, the column of "Notes from Three-Family Village," and continuing their attacks while writing a number of articles like the "Ode to Petroleum" as a gesture of approval for "Comrade Mao Zedong's policy of self-reliance" in order to cover their retreat.

3. Encouraging papers elsewhere, which, inspired by "Evening Chats at Yenshan," had opened up "special columns for miscellaneous essays, to carry on for a long time to come" so as to retain more positions.

4. Taking down the signboard "Notes from Three-Family Village" in July 1964, lest the criticism of Liao Mo-sha's article "There Is No

Harm in Ghost Plays," which was unfolded from 1963 to 1964, should expose Three-Family Village as a whole.

5. Letting Liao Mo-sha write a sham self-criticism in which he ascribed "the cause of my mistake" to "the bourgeois world outlook" which "still dominates my mind," and to his being "forgetful of the fact that classes, class contradictions, and class struggle still exist in our socialist society." Please note that Wu Han repeated this almost word for word in his own "self-criticism" at a later date! Liao Mo-sha added that he had "unconsciously lent a helping hand to the bourgeois and feudal forces in their frenzied attacks on the Party and socialism." Since Liao Mo-sha was a mere "helping hand" to Meng Chao, there would, of course, be no need to make an inquiry into Three-Family Village. What a wonderful stratagem!

6. After the criticism of "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" began, Teng T'o hastily wrote a "critical" article under the pseudonym Hsiang Yang-sheng, saying that the "guiding thought" and the "basic idea" of the play was "to propagate the moral code of the feudal ruling class" and solely "to propagate historical idealism." In doing so, on the one hand, he tried to cover up the political motive and the politically reactionary nature of the drama, thus trying to save Wu Han and to lead the discussion into a blind alley. On the other hand, he implied that such an entity as Three-Family Village did not exist and that he had "broken away from" Wu Han. Towards the end of his article, he added a line of reminder to Wu Han: "It is also my hope that Comrade Wu Han will continue to write if he has anything to say. . . , to make an analysis and a study of things in a truth-seeking way." Here he was instructing Wu Han on how to make his next move.

7. Wu Han responded immediately to his call and wrote more than one article to show his "gratitude" to Hsiang Yang-sheng, while continuing his furious attacks in the name of "self-criticism." Emboldened by the backing he had received, Wu Han proceeded to lavish praise on himself and, taking over for his own use the weapon employed by Liao

Mo-sha in the latter's "self-criticism," he said, "Correct thinking has not established a dominant position in my mind" and, "in a word, I have forgotten the class struggle!" Hsiang Yang-sheng's "criticism," he added, "has helped me realize my mistakes." As if this would enable him to get away!

8. Finally, seeing that the situation was getting pretty hot for them, they suddenly "criticized" Teng T'o in the name of the editorial departments and used every stratagem for slinking off to cover their retreat.

Can all these "coordinated stratagems" enable them to "make good their retreat"? They have played a great many tricks and indeed have gone to extreme lengths in cheating people. But they have seriously underestimated the ability of the revolutionary people to see things in their true light and the determination of the proletariat to carry on with the revolution. Can they lock up their secrets? Can they slip away? Led and educated by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Comrade Mao Zedong, the broad masses of the revolutionary people are determined to eradicate this black anti-Party and antisocial line. These persons think their different stratagems very clever. Actually the things they have done are stupid and only serve to expose them. They have not only common reactionary political ideas but also a common program of action; theirs is an anti-Party, antipopular, antisocialist clique of a handful of individuals. Is this not crystal clear?

In March 1962, when the frenzied attacks by Three-Family Village reached their zenith, Teng T'o published a poem entitled "Black Swan" in the Peking *Evening News*. One verse reads: "When the spring breeze brings dreams and the lake waters send forth their warmth, I alone have foresight!" How he exulted in his keen "foresight"! But his "foresight" has failed this time. It is the revolutionary people who have grasped Mao Zedong's thought that have real foresight. Look, are not the secrets of Three-Family Village being gradually exposed by the broad masses of the people?

Thoroughly Uproot Three-Family Village and Eliminate the Poison it has Spread

One cannot help asking why is it that such wild, venomous, and unscrupulous activities opposing the Party and socialism on the part of Three-Family Village could have gone on for several years? Could it be that the only reason lay in "not putting proletarian politics in command"? What was put in command if not proletarian politics?

Since the criticism of "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" began, people have been exposing its reactionary nature, its political motive which was to lend support to the Right opportunists, and Wu Han's ugly history of opposition to the Communist Party, the people, and the revolution. But it is only when we view "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" in the context of all the activities of Three-Family Village and ascertain the latter's role in the acute class struggles of the last few years that we are able to get down to the very roots of these big poisonous weeds, uproot them thoroughly and destroy this big inn of gangsters.

Comrade Mao Zedong has said, "Everything reactionary is the same; if you don't hit it, it won't fall." ("The Situation and Our Policy After the Victory in the War of Resistance Against Japan") The fact that since the criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office the Three-Family Village clique has tried to make a stand at every step and carried on the fight while beating a retreat again confirms this universal truth. In no circumstances will the reactionary classes and their representatives retire from the stage of history of their own free will. Only when the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers rise up and wage arduous struggles step by step will the proletariat be able gradually to wrest back positions from these "miscellaneous scholars."

The tentacles of the Three-Family Village clique have reached into many departments. Evening Chats at Yenshan has exerted a bad influence throughout the country. Under the signboard of "knowledge" and a "fine style," it attracted a number of people who

lacked political discrimination. It did not lack admirers and followers in journalistic, educational, literary and art, and academic circles. Teng T'o himself has boasted, "The viewpoints and theses in many of the articles are approved by friends." "Letters sent to me by readers from afar have increased." "In order to satisfy readers' requests, some newspapers in other places have also adopted the same form and published special columns for miscellaneous essays which impart knowledge." A number of articles were also written to echo certain viewpoints of Evening Chats at Yenshan. On September 9, 1961, the Peking Evening News advertised the publication of these essays in boldface characters, bragging that "the author has grasped certain contemporary questions," and that they are "both rich in ideological content and useful in enriching knowledge." The paper tried by every possible means to spread the pernicious effects of these essays among the people. As a result, they did much to corrode people's minds and spread their poison far and wide. It is imperative for the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers to come forward and thoroughly expose in all their aspects the evils done by Evening Chats at Yenshan and Notes from Three-Family Village and conduct still more penetrating criticism. Only in this way can their bad effects be liquidated.

The course of events from the criticism of "Hai Jui Dismissed from Office" to that of Three-Family Village has been one of stirring class struggle. It is a great revolution in the political, ideological, and cultural fields. Faced with so arduous and militant a task, we must dare to make revolution.

Comrade Mao Zedong's words encourage us: " 'He who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts dares to unhorse the emperor'—this is the indomitable spirit needed in our struggle to build socialism and communism." ("Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work") Today we very much need to give play to this principled and critical spirit which proceeds from the interests of the cause of communism. All those who oppose Mao Zedong's thought, obstruct the advance of the socialist revolution, or are hostile to the interests of revolutionary people of China and the

world should be exposed, criticized, and knocked down, whether they are "masters" or "authorities," a Three-Family or a Four-Family Village, and no matter how famous they are, what influential positions they hold, by whom they are directed or supported, or how numerous their flatterers are. On questions of principle, it is either the East wind or the West wind which must prevail. For the sake of the socialist revolution, of the defence of Mao Zedong's thought, and of the cause of communism, we must have the courage to think, to speak out, to break through, to act, and to make revolution.

> The Golden Monkey wrathfully swung his massive cudgel, / And the jade-like firmament was cleared of dust.

No matter how much poisonous fog or blinding dust has been spread by Three-Family Village, it will certainly be thoroughly cleared away by the spirited struggle of the millions of workers, peasants, and soldiers who are armed with the "massive cudgel" of Mao Zedong's thought. The brilliant light of Mao Zedong's thought will penetrate all the dark corners and show up all the monsters and goblins in their true colours.

COMMEMORATE LU HSUN AND CARRY THE REVOLUTION THROUGH TO THE END (1966)

From *Commemorating Lu Hsun—Our Forerunner in the Cultural Revolution* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967), 4–20

Our solemn commemoration of Lu Hsun, the great standard-bearer on the proletarian cultural front, is of great international and domestic significance, for it is being held during an upsurge in the vigorously developing great proletarian cultural revolution and after our great leader Chairman Mao has reviewed for the fourth time one and a half million of the forces of the cultural revolution.

Only revolutionaries are entitled to commemorate revolutionary fighters. The best and only way to commemorate the proletarian revolutionary fighters of the past is to continuously carry forward the revolution under new historical conditions. Those who are utterly disqualified from talking about commemorating Lu Hsun are the modern revisionists centered around the leading clique of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who bow down obsequiously before imperialism and the bourgeoisie, the representatives of the bourgeoisie who, in the period of socialist revolution, hold on like grim death to the old bourgeois ideas, culture, customs and habits, the counter-revolutionary double-dealers who advocate "new skills but old ideas," and the "flies and mosquitoes" which flit endlessly over the garbage dumps of the decadent culture of the exploiting classes and refuse to leave them. Those who are today most qualified to commemorate Lu Hsun ate the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and the heroic Red Guard fighters who, in the great proletarian cultural revolution and under the shining banner of Mao Zedong's thought, are vigorously destroying the "four olds" [old ideas, culture, customs and habits] and fostering the "four news" [new ideas, culture, customs and habits], and the revolutionary people of the whole world who, wave upon wave, are waging struggles against U.S. imperialism and its lackeys. The great deeds done by the Red Guards

in their fierce attack against the old things of the exploiting classes are the best commemoration of Lu Hsun!

Chairman Mao has given the most correct, most comprehensive and fullest appraisal of the historical contribution of Lu Hsun. Chairman Mao said:

> The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, he {Lu Hsun] was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is invaluable among colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture.

Lu Hsun's contribution is many-sided. Its soul and core is the proletarian revolutionary spirit pointed out by Chairman Mao. To cast away the revolutionary spirit of Lu Hsun means to cast away his soul or Lu Hsun as a whole. In commemorating Lu Hsun we must, first and foremost, in accordance with the great thought of Mao Zedong, greatly develop this fearless and thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of daring to think, speak, act, break through and make revolution, steel oneself into a fighter with the unyielding integrity of the proletariat, and carty through to the end the fight against imperialism headed by the United States, modern revisionism centered around the leading clique of the CPSU, the claques wildly gesticulating and adding their shouts to the big anti-China chorus, the reactionary forces at home and abroad, and all kinds of ghosts and monsters.

We commemorate Lu Hsun who, in the period of the May 4th Movement of 1919, used his sharp and pungent pen to launch heroic attacks against the reactionary, decadent cultures of imperialism and feudalism and ruthlessly criticize the entire old world where man eats

man. Wherever his pen struck, the enemy fled pell-mell. The old feudal diehards and the lap dogs lost courage when they heard his name.

We commemorate Lu Hsun who, following the Kuomintang betrayal of the revolution in 1927, and in the course of stubborn struggles against imperialism and its lackeys, faced with the bloody lessons of the class struggle, continued to "dissect himself" strictly, remoulded his world outlook, established the Marxist-Leninist world outlook and developed from a bourgeois revolutionary democrat into a great communist fighter.

We commemorate Lu Hsun who, at the end of the 1920s and in the 1930s, used the weapon of Marxism-Leninism to wage great and heroic struggles against imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries, against all sorts of ghosts on the cultural front, and the revisionists who had wormed their way into our ranks and donned the cloak of revolutionaries; who smashed all bourgeois reactionary trends and culture; who thoroughly exposed the despicable faces of the lackeys of the landlord and bourgeois classes such as Hu Shih, Liang Shih-chiu and the advocates of "a nationalist literature"; who reflected the revolutionary "soul of the Chinese masses," and performed immortal deeds in the cause of the Chinese people's liberation.

We commemorate Lu Hsun, particularly in regard to his last years. At that time, firmly taking the correct stand of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, he defended the anti-Japanese national united front put forward by Chairman Mao and sharply denounced the capitulationist line of Wang Ming's Right opportunism that was being followed by Chou Yang and others. Lu Hsun sharply exposed their reactionary nature as "truly dissipated descendants of bankrupt families" disguised as "so-called revolutionary writers"; he uncovered their sectarian methods of "whispering campaigns and stirring up trouble" and their "evil propensity" for double-dealing; he exposed their criminal acts of surrendering to the Kuomintang reactionaries and of spreading treason and renegade philosophy under the pretext of forming a "coalition

front." Lu Hsun insisted on raising the proletarian slogan of "a literature of the masses for the national revolutionary war" and criticized the bourgeois slogan of "a literature of national defence." In "Reply to a Letter from the Trotskyites" Lu Hsun wrote:

> I count it an honour to have as my comrades those who are now doing solid work, treading firmly on the ground, fighting and shedding their blood for the survival of the Chinese people.

This boundless love for the Chinese Communist Party headed by Chairman Mao, this unswerving faith in the great thought of Mao Zedong and his resolute implementation of the correct line mapped out by Chairman Mao showed Lu Hsun's most profound proletarian feeling in his last years. These things will always deserve our deep respect.

The proletarian revolutionary line has always existed in opposition to the bourgeois reactionary line and developed in the struggle with it. The history of the revolution shows that the revolutionary cause has developed and advanced successfully whenever the correct line represented by Comrade Mao Zedong held sway, and suffered setback or defeat whenever an erroneous line contravening Mao Zedong's thought became dominant for a time. The struggle in literature and art reflects the political struggle and serves it. Lu Hsun's struggle on the cultural front during the 1930s against the revisionists wearing the cloaks of "Left-wingers" or "Communists" was no isolated phenomenon; it was the sharp reflection on the cultural front of the struggle between the two lines—the correct proletarian line represented by Comrade Mao Zedong and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Wang Ming. Chou Yang's attacks and distortions relating to Lu Hsun after his death culminated in the great conspiracy of 1957 in which a handful of shameless people under Chou Yang and instigated by him tried to stand the facts of history on their head, encircle and attack Lu Hsun and reverse the verdict on the bourgeois slogan of "a literature of

national defence." All these were designed to oppose Mao Zedong's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line, reverse the verdict on Wang Ming's bourgeois reactionary line and serve the political needs of the anti-Party clique of a handful of people who were trying to restore capitalism. In February last, the forum on literary and art work in the People's Liberation Army called by Comrade Chiang Ching on Comrade Lin Piao's request raised high the great red banner of Mao Zedong's thought and made profound Marxist-Leninist analyses of many problems relating to the current class struggle on the front. of literature and art. By applying Mao Tsse-tung's thought, the Summary of this forum of far-reaching historic significance has provided the answers to many important questions concerning the cultural revolution in the period of socialism, resolutely defended the proletarian line in literature and art, thoroughly ex posed the bourgeois line in literature and art of the 1930s represented by Chou Yang, brought to light and criticized Chou Yang's conspiracy to tamper with history and attack Lu Hsun and revealed the reactionary bourgeois essence of the slogan of "a literature of national defence." This was a struggle for the defence of Mao Zedong's thought and the correct line represented by Chairman Mao. The struggle between the proletarian and bourgeois lines continues today in the great proletarian cultural revolution and, as it deepens, assumes certain new forms. We must resolutely defend and carry out the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and overthrow the bourgeois reactionary line! We must raise still higher the great red banner of Mao Zedong's thought, criticize and repudiate all erroneous tendencies opposing Mao Zedong's thought and the mass line, and clean up the poison of the bourgeois reactionary line!

In a letter of May 1936 and with those revisionists in mind who, under the cloak of "Left-wingers," had covertly attacked him and tried to get him into trouble, Lu Hsun wrote indignantly:

> Those so-called "men of letters" of Shanghai are really rotten… I really want to write an article of at least fifty or sixty thousand words to spell out all the unspoken vexations I have

> suffered these past years. This would in fact also be a little legacy left to the future.

This shows that Lu Hsun had wanted to launch a large-scale counter-attack against the rotten group of Chou Yang and company. It is a pity that Lu Hsun died before he could realize his wish. Today, we should realize his wish, carry on the struggle to expose and criticize—thoroughly and exhaustively—the revisionist line on the literary and art front represented by Chou Yang.

The imperialists, reactionaries of all countries and modern revisionists are scared out of their wits by the great proletarian cultural revolution. They see it as something as dangerous as a flood or a pack of wild beasts. They are on tenterhooks that they will be wakened from their dreams by roars of the revolution. The words "Red Guards" grip them with fear as if the death sentence has been passed on them. They are on edge and in a constant state of alarm. They have started all their propaganda machines going to give vent to their fear and hatred and to curse the Red Guard movement and our great proletarian cultural revolution. But as Lu Hsun pointed out: "Cultural reforms flow on like great rivers and cannot be checked." The roaring tide of the revolution and the spread of revolutionary truth cannot be stopped by the puny shouts of the reactionaries. In those days, literary men of all stripes in the service of the Kuomintang reactionaries and revisionists who had wormed their way into the ranks of the "Left-wingers" both staged campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" against Lu Hsun. What was the result? As Chairman Mao has said:

> It was in the very midst of such campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" that Lu Hsun, who believed in communism, became the giant of China's cultural revolution.

One can be sure that curses hurled by the world's reactionaries against China's great proletarian cultural revolution can only, by providing a negative example, result in helping to spread the sparks of the proletarian cultural revolution throughout the world, hasten their own

downfall, and enable the people of the world to see more clearly the historic, epoch-making significance of that great revolution and the tremendous impetus it gives to the world communist movement and the history of mankind!

The modern revisionists, centered around the leading clique of the CPSU, have recently been using the occasion of the Lu Hsun commemorations to vilify Lu Hsun and so shamelessly slander the great proletarian cultural revolution. They had the effrontery to malign Lu Hsun as a "humanitarian" and a "singer of fraternity," alleging that he upheld the literature and art of the old times as of "permanent value," and that he opposed revolution in the cultural field and the idea of literature and art serving proletarian politics. This is indeed the basest fabrication against Lu Hsun. During his lifetime, Lu Hsun most bitterly hated those deceivers who publicized class conciliation. When he said "The oppressed are either slaves or enemies of the oppressors but can never be their friends," he was aiming at the slavish philosophy that advertises "fraternity" and "forbearance." What a clear-cut proletarian stand he took! This is indeed a hard blow for the revisionists who deceive and lull the oppressed people with talk of "fraternity" and "humanitarianism"; it reveals their true features as servants of imperialism and the bourgeoisie. Throughout his life Lu Hsun opposed the pursuit of "permanent values," and was always the most enthusiastic supporter and singer of the cultural revolution. He said: "China can have no genuine new literature and art without pathbreakers who break away from all traditional ideas and methods." He sharply denounced the reactionary bourgeois theory which held that "literature is permanent whereas political phenomena are temporary, so the former cannot be related to the latter"; he revealed that "the third category of people" who sang this tune did so precisely to serve the butchers who slaughtered the people. He always insisted that literature and art should serve the current revolutionary struggle and pointed out that the "three treasures (universality, permanence and completeness)" of the bourgeoisie are nothing but "nails which would nail a writer in his coffin." As a matter of fact, the "permanent value" advertised in modern revisionist art is nothing but the shopworn

"theory of human nature" copied from bourgeois literature and art; it is nothing but the expression of decadent life and a fashionable trade mark picked up from the rotten culture of the Western capitalist countries characterized by shamelessness, emptiness and vulgar taste. All this is dross which will soon be washed away by the tide of history. How can it have any "permanent value?"

The militant legacy which Lu Hsun left us includes many profound ideas which summed up the historical experience of class struggle on the cultural front and deserve to be studied and developed by us. Here let me cite a few points:

Firstly, we must develop Lu Hsun's fighting spirit of "beating a dog in the water." It is necessary to have this spirit both in order to overthrow the reactionary state power of the landlords and bourgeoisie and also to defend the proletarian dictatorship. Lu Hsun was highly vigilant against the enemies of the people. He saw through their utter cruelty and cunning and he held that people should certainly show them no mercy. If you do not struggle against them; they will struggle against you. You may not "hate evil as you do your enemy," but he will "hate goodness as he does his enemy'. You think of letting him go, but he definitely will not let you go. He will put on various masks to trick you into compromise, but he himself will never compromise. In his famous essay "'Fair Play' Should Be Put Off for the Time Being," Lu Hsun summed up many lessons learnt at the cost of blood, and pointed out that "preaching not to 'beat a dog in the water' is very harmful." If those "dogs in the water" are not beaten thoroughly, once they crawl back on to the bank, they will bite many revolutionaries to death. This will cost more blood; and at the very least they will splash people all over with water. He said that if you think "to give a free hand to evil is to show mercy," and talk about benevolence with regard to ghosts and monsters so as "to allow them to breed quickly […] this will cost a lot more energy and lives" on the part of future revolutionaries.

To those so-called "kind-hearted people" who refuse to beat "a dog in the water," Lu Hsun said that some dogs only seemed to have fallen into the water, but actually had not. "At most they only pretend

to be limp so as to appeal to people's sense of pity." Then they will start by biting these "kind-hearted people" first as soon as they have a chance for a come-back. He also said:

> The nature of a dog will not change. Things may be different ten thousand years later, but I am now talking about the present. If you regard those "in the water" as very pitiful, then there are many harmful creatures that look pitiful. Even cholera germs, though they breed quickly, seem simple in nature. But a physician definitely will not let them go.

Lu Hsun's life was spent in fighting uncompromisingly against the reactionaries both at home and abroad. He never forgave the enemies of the people. Many times he rebutted the "idea of making no distinction between right and wrong." In his opinion, revolutionaries should always maintain a clear-cut stand, make a clear differentiation between right and wrong, and have a strong sense of likes and dislikes. Most of all he hated those "gentlemen" who made a show of "impartiality" yet in fact stood on the side of the old forces. He drew a most incisive portrait of the ugly features of these "gentlemen":

> Although they are dogs, they look very much like cats, having an air of eclecticism, fairness, conciliation and righteousness, and the appearance that they alone know "the doctrine of the mean" while all others are not exempt from going to extremes.

In his essay "Ghosts and Monsters in China's Literary World," he mercilessly showed up the ugly features of those who said they were "definitely not Left-wingers, nor Right-wingers, but stand far above both," pointing out that "no deception can last long." This is really an excellent portrait of some modern revisionists who today describe themselves as "far above others" and "fair." Take a look at those in the international communist movement who consider that they "alone know 'the doctrine of the mean'"; they are in fact showing themselves up as the most vulgar of revisionists. We must develop the fighting

spirit of never compromising with the enemies, see through all the plots of those dogs in the water or those not yet fallen into the water, tear the eclectic masks off those "gentlemen" of a new type, expose the ugly features of those lap dogs who "although dogs, look very much like cats," in order to resolutely carry to the end the fight against imperialism headed by the United States and modern revisionism, centered around the leading group of the CPSU, and resolutely carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Secondly, we must develop Lu Hsun's revolutionary spirit of tenacity and perseverance. Lu Hsun said: "In the struggle against the old society and old forces, it is necessary to be firm, enduring and to pay attention to strength." He said: "Without tenacity, nothing can be achieved in culture." This is because no reactionary force or idea will ever step down from the stage of history of its own. It is necessary to have many trials of strength and to wage repeated struggles in order to wipe them out step by step; this can never be done "at one stroke." It calls for the greatest tenacity to win victory step by step and to consolidate and extend it, and to defeat all kinds of counter-attacks by the old forces and all their attempts to soften up revolutionaries.

During his lifetime, Lu Hsun many times experienced the ebb and flow of the revolution with its victories and failures, zigzags and reversals, unity and division. Time and again the revolutionary ranks split, with "some going higher in the official world and some going to live in seclusion […] some withdrawing from the ranks, some deserting, some becoming despondent and some turning traitors." But he stood firm as a proud pine in the wind and frost, fearless of darkness and violence; he kept marching forward, persisting unswervingly in a protracted, heroic struggle against imperialism and its lackeys, constantly assimilating the experience of class struggle, and ultimately grasping the great truth of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought. Thus he tempered himself into a man of staunch proletarian integrity.

Today, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, we have launched the great proletarian cultural revolution, a movement without parallel in history. This great, torrential revolutionary movement was started by Chairman Mao on the basis of a summing

up of the experience of the class struggle in China and in the international arena and of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and taking into account the profound aspirations of the revolutionary masses. This is a great creation in the international communist movement and in the socialist revolution in our country, a revolutionary movement of the proletariat carried out at a higher stage following the seizure of state power by the proletariat and the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production. It is aimed at changing the face of society and remoulding the mental outlook of people. This is an extremely great revolution, a far-reaching and deep-going revolution that touches people to their very soul. All classes, all kinds of ideological trends and political groups will come to the stage to give their performances; the handful of persons who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road will never of their own accord step down from the stage of history. In such a great revolution, it is only natural that stubborn resistance should be encountered from the old forces of the exploiting classes, and that there should be many new problems, extremely complex struggles and all kinds of reversals. It therefore urgently demands just such a proletarian tenacity as that displayed by Lu Hsun.

A staunch revolutionary of the proletariat, a true Communist Party member, must have a firm proletarian class stand and a militant spirit of holding fast to principles; he must be able to stand up to the tests of violent storms as well as attacks by sugar-coated bullets. When he has met with temporary setbacks, he should not lose heart, complain, be disillusioned, or run away; he should fearlessly face attacks from all sides, and not be scared of "isolation." Fearing nothing, he should put his trust in the truth, sum up each lesson, persist in the struggle and boldly advance according to the general orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao. Once a victory is won, he must not relax his vigilance, grow complacent, cease to make progress or become light-headed; he must pay attention to rallying the great majority, watch for new problems emerging among the masses, continue to sum up every lesson, persist in the struggle and advance according to the general orientation pointed out by Chairman Mao.

Only with this revolutionary spirit of tenacity and perseverance tempered in accordance with the teachings of Mao Zedong's thought, will it be possible to carry the proletarian revolution through to the end, dig out, bit by bit, all the roots of revisionism and shoulder the great historic mission of thoroughly wiping out the bourgeoisie and making a reality of the ideal of communism.

Thirdly, we must learn from Lu Hsun's dialectical viewpoint in looking at problems. In his Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work, Chairman Mao particularly mentioned the need to learn from Lu Hsun's method of analysing problems as shown in his later essays. He said:

> The analytical method is dialectical. By analysis, we mean analysing the contradictions in things. And sound analysis is impossible without intimate knowledge of life and without real understanding of the pertinent contradictions. Lu Hsun's later essays are so penetrating and powerful and yet so free from one-sidedness precisely because he had grasped dialectics by then.

After Lu Hsun became a Marxist in the later period of his life, he overcame certain failings characteristic of the metaphysical and one-sided views expressed in his earlier articles; he skillfully used dialectics in analysing all sorts of problems and thus lifted his fighting activity on to an entirely new ideological plane. Lu Hsun's fighting experience shows that to be a staunch proletarian revolutionary on the cultural front, one must grasp dialectics and overcome one-sidedness. In the present great proletarian cultural revolution, we have come up against all kinds of complex contradictions and so it is particularly necessary for us to make a further advance in creatively studying and applying those great philosophical concepts of genius of Chairman Mao and use Marxist dialectics to make class analyses. Lu Hsun's later essays and other articles shine with the unquenchable light of struggle

and serve as a very good example from which to learn to analyse problems.

Fourthly, in emulating Lu Hsun the most important and fundamental thing is his great communist spirit in bending his back to his dying day for the proletarian revolutionary cause. Here let us restudy Chairman Mao's teaching:

> This couplet from a poem by Lu Hsun should be our motto:
>
> Fierce-browed, I cooly defy a thousand pointing fingers / Head-bowed, like a willing ox I serve the children.
>
> The "thousand pointing fingers" are our enemies, and we will never yield to them, no matter how ferocious. The "children" here symbolize the proletariat and the masses. All Communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the example of Lu Hsun and be "oxen" for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day.

We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and do as Lu Hsun did, never yielding to any enemy, however ferocious, and daring to wage tit-for-tat struggles against them, despising them, and overpowering and defeating them. Like Lu Hsun, we should wholeheartedly serve the proletariat and the masses, and be honest servants and "oxen" of the people; we should talk with the masses on an equal footing; work for them; struggle for and serve them to our last breath; we must overcome individualism and discard the bureaucratic airs of the exploiting classes who think they are superior to the masses of the people. Like Lu Hsun, we should have an ardent love for the proletariat, the masses and the revolutionary youth; and fight, study and advance side by side with the revolutionary people.

Our revolutionary younger generation should also learn from this spirit, discard all selfish ideas, unite with the broad masses, and identify themselves with the workers, peasants and soldiers; they

should develop the spirit of hard struggle, strive to foster a proletarian world outlook in the course of the struggle and train themselves to be fighters boundlessly loyal to the cause of communism.

Thirty years have passed since Lu Hsun's death. In this time, earth-shaking changes have taken place in China. Lu Hsun once enthusiastically made this appeal: "We should train large numbers of new fighters," but this could not be done in his time. Today, there is a mighty cultural revolutionary army of new fighters. Millions upon millions of people have now become critics of the old world and its culture and the breadth and depth of this criticism are beyond comparison with anything in Lu Hsun's time. We have seen with our own eyes how tens of thousands of heroic young fighters have emerged—group by group—in the course of sharp class struggle. They have grasped the truth of Mao Zedong's thought, and have been following a correct orientation and a correct line. Representing the great majority of the people, they dare to wage brave and fierce struggles against those old things that appear powerful. They have indeed overthrown all the formidable obstacles that hindered the advance of the revolution. This is a historical truth: the "unlearned" have overthrown the "learned," the revolutionary "little fish" have defeated the counter-revolutionary "big fish." This is the cause undertaken by tens of millions of revolutionary people under the leadership of the Party and Comrade Mao Zedong. The representatives of the reactionary classes have finally been toppled from their thrones and their true nature as paper tigers has been exposed because they act contrary to the developing revolution, because they follow an incorrect orientation and an incorrect line, and because they are against the revolution, the people and Mao Zedong's thought. They have changed from "big fish" into unimportant persons and finally they have become completely insignificant. This is true of reactionary fools everywhere in the world, the Khrushchov modern revisionists as well as Chou Yang and company. This holds good and will hold good with all the representatives of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party. History never stops moving forward; it inevitably casts aside group by group the handful of people who act against the revolution.

In the light of the history of such class struggles, Lu Hsun's spirit in always going forward and carrying the revolution through to the end has become more precious than ever. We must act as Lu Hsun did and constantly remould our ideology, keep up with the constantly developing situation, and always follow Chairman Mao, our great teacher, great leader, great supreme commander and great helmsman in making revolution. Together with all revolutionaries, we must always diligently study new things and warmly support them. In the raging flames of the class struggle in the socialist revolution, we must constantly forge ahead and carry the revolution through to the end; we must never retreat in mid course, never drop behind, and always be loyal to Chairman Mao, always be his good pupils and fighters.

May Lu Hsun's proletarian revolutionary spirit live for ever!
Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!
Long live the great Chinese Communist Party!
Long live the invincible thought of Mao Zedong!
Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!

YAO WENYUAN LOOKS TO THE FUTURE (1966)

From *The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—A Record of Major Events—September 1965 to December 1966* (JPRS: 42, 349; Washington DC: Joint Publications Research Service, 25 August 1967), 66

[Editors: This was part of a speech given on 30 December 1966.]

1967 will be a great revolutionary year. In 1967, we will launch an all-out attack on all fronts against [the] bourgeoisie. In 1967, we will hold higher the banner of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and thoroughly criticize the Liu and Teng bourgeois reactionary line. 1967 will also be a year in which our revolutionary intellectuals will even more extensively integrate ourselves with workers, peasants, and soldiers.

THE "TALKS AT THE YENAN FORUM ON LITERATURE AND ART" IS A REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM FOR CARRYING OUT GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION (1967)

From *Translations from Hung-Ch'i* (JPRS: 42, 168; Washington DC: Joint Publications Research Service, 9 August 1967): 1–13

Comrades and comrades in arms: Today, when the revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation is in full swing, when the great proletarian cultural revolution is entering a stage of launching a general attack against and settling accounts with the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and when the shameless renegade action and theories of Soviet revisionism are facing bankruptcy throughout the world, we, the fighters of Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries, are holding a solemn rally to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the publication of Chairman Mao's great works "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." It bears an important historical as well as realistic meaning.

"Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" is a brilliant crystalization of Mao Zedong's thought, an immortal document of Marxism-Leninism, an epoch-making development on Marxist-Leninist world outlook and literary and art theories, a programmatic document for the great proletarian cultural revolution and against modern revisionism and all bourgeois reactionary ideas, and a militant clarion call which inspires all the oppressed peoples in the world to bravely attack imperialism and all reactionaries.

In the history of the world proletarian literary and art movement, the "Talks" for the first time most clearly, completely, and thoroughly put forward the fundamental orientation of serving workers, peasants, and soldiers, systematically solved the questions of linking literary and art workers with workers, peasants, and soldiers, and settled a good many important and fundamental questions on the theories and practices for the development of proletarian literature and art.

The "Talks" extensively summed up the historical experience in the struggle between the two lines on the cultural front, thoroughly criticized and repudiated the bourgeois line on art and literature which had occupied a dominant position within the party for a long time, and in an all-round way formulated the proletarian line and various concrete policies on literature and art.

Holding high the great revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism of criticism and repudiation, the "Talks" dealt all kinds of reactionary ideas of the bourgeoisie and revisionism with destructive blows, and thoroughly exposed the reactionary features of the black line of the thirties on literature and art advocated by Chou Yang and his gang.

This criticism and repudiation are so profound, sharp, and forceful that they struck at the vital part of the bourgeois reactionary world outlook and theories on literature and art.

The reactionary trend of revisionist thought of all kinds, including the reactionary theories which the book "On Self-Cultivation" advocated to betray the dictatorship of the proletariat and to peddle class capitulationism, and including the bourgeois theory on human nature and humanitarianism which the Soviet modern revisionist had treasured, could not escape the boundless power of this monster-exposing mirror the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art"—no matter how well they camouflaged themselves. Once this monster-exposing mirror is used their ugly features are immediately exposed. The path pointed out by the "Talks" that literary and art workers must identify themselves with workers, peasants, and soldiers, cope with the new mass era, and thoroughly remold themselves is the only path that should be taken by all intellectuals who are willing to make revolution so that they will become even more revolutionary and proletarian. It is the only path to develop proletarian culture and the fundamental guarantee to oppose and prevent revisionism. All revolutionary cadres and cultural workers found the broad path in the "Talks" for remolding their thought and identifying themselves with the masses.

In solving all kinds of complicated problems, the "Talks" applied and developed, with genius and creatively, the dialectics of Marxism. It is a brilliant example with which we can make use of dialectical materialism in the revolutionary practice. The "Talks" is the everlasting truth for the development of revolutionary culture, the invincible militant banner of proletarian literature and art, and the compass for carrying out the great revolution on the ideological and cultural fronts.

This great work of Chairman Mao's, along with his other works such as "On New Democracy," "Letter to the Yenan Peking Opera Theater After Seeing 'Driven to Join the Liangshan Mountain Rebels'," and "Pay Attention to the Discussion of the Film 'Biography of Wu Hsun'," "A Letter on the Question of Studying 'The Dream of the Red Chamber'," and "On Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," published during the period of socialist revolution; and "Talks at the National Propaganda Work Conference of the CCP" and many important instructions and documents issued since the beginning of the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution have developed Marxism-Leninism to a brand new stage and opened up an entirely new historic period in the development of proletarian art and literature and in the carrying out of the proletarian cultural revolution.

Over the past 25 years the "Talks" has greatly influenced China and the world, pointing out the direction of advance for all revolutionary art and literary workers and dealing telling blows to the reactionary bourgeois world outlook of all descriptions. The appraisal of the great historical role of the workers, peasants, and soldiers and the criticism and repudiation of the reactionary bourgeois world outlooks such as "the love of humanity" and "the theory of human nature" embodied in the "Talks" have helped the proletariat and the revolutionary people throughout the world understand the deceptive nature of the bourgeoisie and revisionism and encouraged them to struggle for their own liberation.

Of course, these 25 years have not passed without troubles. The history of the past 25 years has been one filled with violent class

struggle and struggle between the two lines. Having controlled the former Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee, the former Ministry of Culture, the old Peking municipal party committee, and many other cultural departments throughout the country, Peng Chen, Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, and other counter-revolutionary revisionists, and the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road who vigorously supported them, have frenziedly opposed and resisted the proletarian line on art and literature expounded in the "Talks" and in the series of Chairman Mao's important instructions on the question of culture, and frantically promoted a reactionary bourgeois line on art and literature (that is, the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on art and literature), so as to prepare public opinion for their evil cause of restoring capitalism on a nationwide scale.

In Shanghai a handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the former municipal party committee also frenziedly opposed and resisted Chairman Mao's proletarian literary and art line and opposed and resisted his instructions on criticizing and repudiating the agents of the bourgeoisie who had sneaked into the party. They did their best to oppose and obstruct the struggle carried on by Comrade Ko Ching-shih for steadfastly adhering to Chairman Mao's literary and art line. Colluding with Lu Ting-i, Chou Yang, and company, they vainly attempted to use Shanghai as a base for developing the reactionary capitalist art literature. Over the past 17 years, in league with those academic and literary and art "authorities" of the reactionary bourgeoisie, the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists, who had sneaked into the party, government, army, and the various cultural spheres, usurped the leadership in the cultural sphere.

Using Peking and Shanghai as their major bases for conducting reactionary propaganda, they extended their evil hands to various parts of the country, exercised counterrevolutionary bourgeois dictatorship on the proletariat in the cultural field, and rampantly perpetrated "peaceful transition." They frenziedly praised the reactionary art and literature of imperialism, feudalism, capitalism, and revisionism; frenziedly supported a large group of antiparty,

antisocialist big poisonous weeds to serve the political needs of the counterrevolutionary revisionist clique within the party and to serve the antisocialist needs of the bourgeoisie; frenziedly opposed Mao Zedong's thought; slandered the propaganda of Mao Zedong's thought as "oversimplified" and "Philistine"; and advocated the various bourgeois reactionary art and literary theories which had long been refuted by the "Talks." They frenziedly staged and prettified all the ugly symbols of the exploiting classes emperors, kings, generals, prime ministers, scholars, beauties, corpses, devils, young masters, and young mistresses. They also repudiated or distorted the symbols of the great workers, peasants, and soldiers. They frenziedly recruited the deserters and renegades in the art and literary circles; sheltered the bad elements; protected and developed the new nobilities of the bourgeoisie; put into important positions large numbers of renegades, traitors, special agents, and elements who maintained illicit relations with foreign countries, exploiting class elements, and degenerates; and perpetrated various unspeakable activities. They frenziedly hit at all "small persons" who dared to rebel against them and those who dared to adhere to Chairman Mao's art and literary line. So vehement was their hatred that they would deal them a fatal blow.

They repudiated, distorted, revised, blocked, or boycotted all instructions of Chairman Mao's; but, regarding the world of the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and the "big" intellectuals of the bourgeoisie, they obeyed them as if they were the words of God. Over the past 17 years, the handful of counterrevolutionary revisionists have committed towering crimes and no end of evil. From lauding "The Inside Story of the Ching Court" to producing the drama "Hai Jui's Dismissal," it is a complete black history of their opposition to the "Talks," their opposition to Mao Zedong's art and literary line, and their activities for restoring capitalism.

Serving proletarian politics means that art and literature should serve the needs of consolidating the proletarian dictatorship and developing the socialist revolution in the period of socialist revolution, and that art and literature should serve the needs of remolding the

party and the world with the countenance of the proletariat. But the core of the counterrevolutionary revisionist line is to remold the party and the world with the countenance of the bourgeoisie, dreaming of converting the proletarian dictatorship into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and to reduce China to an imperialist colony. As Chairman Mao correctly revealed: they intended to launch a counterrevolutionary coup in the fashion of the "Hungarian Petofi Club."

Chairman Mao personally led the numerous major art and literary struggles after liberation. Chairman Mao personally initiated and guided the criticism of "Hai Jui's Dismissal." Chairman Mao's theories on launching a great proletarian cultural revolution from the bottom to the top under the proletarian dictatorship, on proceeding from criticizing and repudiating the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the ideological and cultural realms to exposing and criticizing the handful of party persons in authority taking the capital road, to preventing capitalist restoration, and to consolidating the proletarian dictatorship, represent a creative development of the spirit of the "Talks," an epoch-making development of Marxism-Leninism and a great pioneering achievement in the international communist movement. Now, the ugly faces of this handful of counterrevolutionary revisionist elements have finally been exposed in the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution. Their plot has been crushed.

In opposition to the reactionary art and literary line of the bourgeoisie (that is the counterrevolutionary revisionist art and literary line represented by Chou Yang, Hsia Yen, Lin Mo-han, and Chi Yenming), Comrade Chiang Ching has steadfastly adhered to Chairman Mao's proletarian art and literary line as defined in the "Talks," carried out an unflinching struggle against the reactionary art and literary line of the bourgeoisie, and made vital contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution. She has warmheartedly supported the newborn proletarian forces in the cultural circles who persist in the direction pointed out by the "Talks." She has dared to oppose each and every strict rule of those reactionary bourgeois

authorities. The revolution of Peking opera and the revolution of other forms of theatrical art initiated and guided by her have destroyed the strongest citadel of the reactionary bourgeois and feudalist art and literature, and created a number of brand new revolutionized Peking operas, ballets, and symphonies, establishing brilliant examples for the revolution of art and literature. These works are replete with revolutionary heroism of the proletariat, possess high degrees of revolutionary and artistic characteristics and a unique national style, provide good examples in developing the new by critical assimilation of the old, and are powerful ideological weapons and priceless cultural wealth of the proletariat.

On the stages in China and the world, these works have, through the heroic symbols typical of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, raised high the great red banner of Mao Zedong's thought and dealt fatal blows at the monsters and demons of the exploiting classes.

"The minutes of the symposium of art and literary work among the units called by Comrade Chiang Ching at the request of Comrade Lin Piao" is an important document which has been amended many times by Chairman Mao. It has solved many major questions of the cultural revolution during the socialist period, crushed the foundation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line on art and literature, and opened up a new road for the great proletarian cultural revolution in the art and literature fields.

We proletarian revolutionaries of Shanghai feel honored, for many major battles were fought in Shanghai. When the old Peking municipal party committee was controlled by the elements of Peng Chen's counterrevolutionary revisionist clique, Comrade Chiang Ching, acting on Chairman Mao's instructions, launched criticism and repudiation of Peng Chen's counterrevolutionary revisionist clique in Shanghai, kindling the raging flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We should carry forward such revolutionary traditions of the proletariat and forever wage an uncompromising struggle against all monsters and demons.

In commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," we must study in real earnest this great work of Chairman Mao's and his other great works on cultural revolution, and use them as our most important fighting weapons to thoroughly crush the positions occupied by the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line on art and literature politically, ideologically, theoretically, and organizationally, eliminate its poisonous influence, bring to the open all their underground activities, seize and put the leadership in the hands of the proletarian revolutionaries, and thoroughly discredit the behind-the-scenes general boss of the black line of art and literature, and the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, so as to propel the revolutionary mass movement of criticism and repudiation to a new upsurge.

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's thought are theories of revolution and criticism. They have always opened up the road of advance for themselves in the struggle against "left" and right opportunism and various trends of reactionary bourgeois ideas of all descriptions. Only through studying Mao Zedong's thought in struggle can we really master the revolutionary soul of Mao Zedong's thought. Only by mastering Mao Zedong's thought will it be possible to deal a fatal blow to the bourgeois reactionary line. In the final analysis, all our achievements in the great proletarian cultural revolution are victories of Mao Zedong's thought and the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao over the bourgeois reactionary ideology and line. Comrades of Shanghai's proletarian revolutionaries, who are now in power, must place the study, mastery, and application of Mao Zedong's thought above everything else and before anything else, and attach greater importance to them than anything else. We must never forget and never stop and never let our day-to-day busy affairs take away our time for studying.

The ideological positions must be occupied by means of ideological weapons. It is impossible to destroy the bourgeois ideology by relying on fists and brutal force. Positions occupied by bourgeois ideology can only be recaptured by the proletariat using Mao Zedong's thought to criticize, repudiate, and fight. Only by using

Mao Zedong's thought to conduct ideological education will it be possible for the masses poisoned and deceived by the bourgeois reactionary line to awake, consciously wipe out the erroneous thoughts in their minds, and return to the side of Chairman Mao's line. Whether the struggle can be carried out well on the ideological front is a matter which concerns the question whether we can carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

We should note that the bourgeois reactionary ideology and its representatives in the fields of ideology and culture are quite strong. The traditional influence and the force of inertia of the old society can only be gradually wiped out over a protracted period of time. The exposure of the representatives of the bourgeoisie is not tantamount to the elimination of their influence. Even after the old representatives of the bourgeoisie are uprooted, new ones may still emerge. Chairman Mao recently again reminded us: "The current great cultural revolution is only the first one, and there definitely will be many more in the future. The question of who will win or lose in the revolution can only be settled through a very long historical period. If we fail to do a good job, a capitalist restoration may happen any time, all party members and people throughout the country must not think that there will be peace and no worry after one or two, three, or four great cultural revolutions. We must be very alert and never lose vigilance." As for this emphatic and sincere instruction by Chairman Mao, comrades of our proletarian revolutionary organizations must think it over and over again, bear it in mind forever. We must never let the illusion of peace intoxicate us, render us careless, or cause us to slacken our revolutionary fighting spirit. We must not overlook the long-term nature of the struggle between the two classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and the two roads, socialism and capitalism. The history of the class struggle has told us: Art and literature are the most sensitive nerves of the classes; every round, every rise and fall, every turn of event in the political struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and the struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism, is always reflected first in art and literature. Was it not from the criticism and repudiation of "Hai Jui's

Dismissal," "The Inside Story of the Ching Court," and other big poisonous weeds that Chairman Mao led us to expose the ugly faces of the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road?

The task of criticism and repudiation in the art and literary fields must continue and go deeper. First to be criticized and repudiated, and sterilized are such revisionist art and literary theories as "a literature and art of the whole people," "the theory of writing about the middle-of-the-road people," and "the theory of human nature," the big poisonous weeds praised, supported, nurtured, and used directly by the handful of top party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and the major works by the ringleaders of Soviet modern revisionism. The criticism and struggle on the art and literary front should be linked closely with the overall situation of the political struggle in the great cultural revolution, and should serve the needs of the political struggle of the proletariat.

Shanghai was the old venue of the art and literature black line of the thirties, long under the control of imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionary clique. Shanghai was the place where the largest number of the bourgeoisie and its intellectuals converged; many bad plays, bad films, and bad books were produced in Shanghai; and many major struggles broke out in Shanghai. The success and failure of the extensive criticism and repudiation in Shanghai's art and literature front will affect the question of whether he can root out the black line on art and literature, and whether we can capture every position on the cultural and educational front for the proletariat in the current great cultural revolution.

We must not take this question lightly. On the ideological front, we must mobilize the broad masses of people, grasp the major issues, and fight one battle after another. In the meantime, we should thoroughly investigate the political countenance of the bad people hiding in the cultural field.

In commemorating the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," the army of the pen and the army of the gun should be linked together better.

Chairman Mao pointed out in his "Talks": "In our struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people there are various fronts, among which there are the fronts of the pen and of the gun, the cultural and the military fronts. To defeat the enemy we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy." Chairman Mao pointed out that these two armies should be "linked together." This is an extremely important strategic concept of Chairman Mao's; we must understand it thoroughly.

In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, in order to completely defeat the enemy, it is also necessary for us to depend on the good coordination and mutual support between the army of the pen and the army of the gun in their common struggle against the enemy. In other words, the meaning is to support the army and cherish the people. We should resolutely respond to Chairman Mao's great call to support the army and cherish the people. When the army of the pen and the army of the gun are closely united under the leadership of our supreme commander Chairman Mao, we will be like a tiger who has been given wings and will be able to smash all the counterattacks of the class enemy and strive to win new and great victories.

In marking the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks ," we should persist in serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers as instructed by Chairman Mao and do well in the work of struggle-criticism-transformation in all spheres of literature and art. Workers of literary and art organizations should conscientiously carry out the "Decisions of the CCP Central Committee concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution in literary and art organizations." According to the current situation of the struggle, members of literary and art organizations should return to their own units and concentrate the forces to make revolution. They should at the same time carry out the struggle-criticism-transformation in their own units and create and perform modern, revolutionary literary and art works and dramas that serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers.

At present, there is still a long and arduous way to go as far as the completion of the task of struggle-criticism-transformation in the literary and art circles is concerned. The class struggle is still very acute and complicated. There will still be reversals.

The fundamental remolding in the sphere of literature and art lies in integration with the workers, peasants, and soldiers as pointed out in the "Talks." It is precisely as was pointed out by Chairman Mao: "China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle." "They must shift their stand; they must gradually move their feet over to the side of the workers, peasants, and soldiers, to the side of the proletariat, through the process of going into their very midst and into the thick of practical struggles and through the process of studying Marxism and society."

Our literary and art creations must serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers; our literary and art ranks must remold their own stand and their world outlook through the process of integrating themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers. At present, we suggest that writers and artists should return to their own units to carry out the task of struggle-criticism-transformation. It is for the reason that, unless the great cultural revolution in various units is properly carried out, unless the counterrevolutionary revisionist black line on literature and art and the bourgeoisie reactionary line are thoroughly exposed and criticized, unless the handful of people in authority taking the capitalist road is completely criticized, repudiated, and overthrown, and unless the literary and art ranks are properly straightened out and "cleared up," there can be no clear-cut line between the fronts of classes, it will be impossible for us to build a proletarian literary and art rank, and the integration with the workers, peasants, and soldiers cannot be guaranteed.

It should be pointed out: Some writers and artists and revolutionary intellectuals have integrated themselves with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, served the workers, peasants, and

soldiers, disseminated Mao Zedong's thought, propagated the great cultural revolution, become one with the workers, peasants, and soldiers, carried out the struggle together with local proletarian revolutionaries and achieved good results, and have been warmly welcomed by the workers, peasants, and soldiers. This is the main aspect. However, there are also a very small number of people who took advantage of "exchanging experience" to create confusion and incite struggle by force in factories and rural areas; they even tried to reverse the verdicts passed on landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements, and rightists. They failed to act according to Chairman Mao's "Talks" to sincerely learn from the proletarian revolutionaries among the workers and peasants and truly transform their nonproletarian thinking. On the contrary, they "regarded themselves as the masters of the masses," spread among the masses the thinking in antagonism to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and desperately created a split in the revolutionary ranks.

Is it right to say that this handful of persons should not make efforts to study the "Talks" well and cleanse their thinking accordingly?

Literature and art are the weapons for class struggle. All literary and art works produced by the proletariat are the powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and annihilating the enemies in accordance with Mao Zedong's thought. The revolutionary writers and artists in Shanghai, under the leadership of Comrade Chiang Ching, have launched heroic attacks on the citadels held by the obstinate bourgeoisie and feudalists. They have created such brilliant and exemplary revolutionary operas as "Taking the Bandit Stronghold," "In the Docks," and "The White-Haired Girl," which are representative of Mao Zedong's thought.

The Mao Zedong's thought propaganda teams organized by the revolutionary literary and art workers and Red Guard fighters of Shanghai, as well as their literary and art detachments, while actively serving on the various fronts have created many outstanding short plays which show the fighting spirit. Because these plays reflect the

struggle of the various stages of the present era, they are warmly acclaimed by the broad masses. You have done the right thing and have done it well!

From now on we shall make continued efforts to advance toward popularization and the raising of standards. We should have the revolutionary ambition to create more exemplary works reflecting the great proletarian cultural revolution, which is unprecedented in history, and produce more outstanding works to reflect the stormy January revolution of Shanghai! Our revolutionary musicians should produce songs and music that reflect the great revolutionary spirit of the proletarian revolutionaries! We should have our own "songs of the Red Guards"! Revolutionary writers must create the immortal images of the proletarian heroes who have emerged during the great cultural revolution! In the fields of literature and art, we should bring forth eulogies of victory that praise the victories of Mao Zedong's thought, and let these praises echo in the sky!

While marking the 25th anniversary of the publication of the "Talks," we must conscientiously implement the mass line in all fields, stepping up self-reformation and surmounting the various kinds of nonproletarian thinking among our ranks in accordance with the world outlook of the proletariat.

The two fundamental questions, whom to serve and how to serve, as pointed out in Chairman Mao's "Talks," have a universal meaning not only to the literary and art workers, but also to every comrade who is engaged in the work of revolution. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the focus of the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line lies in the question of one's stand and attitude toward the masses.

Chairman Mao has repeatedly called on the revolutionary cadres to "go to the midst of the masses." Obviously, only by settling the question of stand and the question of attitude can we have a correct political orientation for our work, and only by settling the two questions can we prevent the capitalist "peaceful evolution" and the capitalist restoration. We proletarian revolutionaries definitely do not

aim at serving the interests of a small organization. On the contrary, we serve the interests of the proletariat and the broad masses of revolutionaries. If a revolutionary mass organization's interests conflict with that of the proletariat and the broad masses of working people, then these partial interests should be placed in subordination to the collective interest, definitely not the other way around. All revolutionary cadres should humbly learn from the masses, enthusiastically support the initiative of the masses, wage resolute struggle against all kinds of bureaucratic practices that keep them apart from the masses, and make strenuous efforts to incessantly cleanse their minds of the dust that tarnishes their thinking and working style.

Chairman Mao teaches us in the "Talks": "All communists, all revolutionaries, all revolutionary literary and art workers should learn from the example of Lu Hsun and be 'oxen' for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the tasks until their dying day." We should use this as a criterion for self-inspection, develop the working style of hard struggle, and continuously and determinedly fight the ideas of "self- interest" so as to serve the people wholeheartedly.

In his "Talks" Chairman Mao repeatedly taught us that a clear distinction must be made between proletarian ideology and petty bourgeois ideology. He said: "There are many comrades who are still not clear what the difference is between the proletariat and the party bourgeoisie." "There is a need to launch an ideological struggle between the proletariat and the non-proletariat."

The "Talks" is a penetrating report on rectification. It is a mighty ideological weapon for the proletarianization of our thinking. Comrades of the revolutionary rebel groups in Shanghai must firmly grasp the general orientation of the struggle, consolidate and develop the revolutionary great alliance, make a conscious effort toward overcoming the pounding attacks of the petty bourgeois ideological tide, and conquer anarchism, small-group mentality, [party] splitting, and other erroneous trends that obstruct the revolutionary great alliance. A proletarian revolutionary fighter must be expert at distinguishing the demarcation line between the proletarian world

view and all sorts of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies and other nonproletarian thinking. They must do careful and patient ideological work, lead the masses in overcoming the influence of bourgeois and petty bourgeois ideologies, and unite with them to march forward shoulder to shoulder.

Chairman Mao pointed out: Only by achieving unanimity on basic principles, and "also by setting forth the slogan of going into the masses for the workers, the Eighth Route Army, and the New Fourth Army, and thoroughly implementing it" can the objective of conquering sectarianism and uniting to face a common enemy be achieved.

In the "Talks" Chairman Mao quoted Lu Hsun: "The inability to achieve unification of our lines proves that our objective is not in accord. It is either for the individual or for the small group. If the objective is for the masses of workers and peasants, our lines will naturally be unified."

The directives of Chairman Mao have great educational significance not only for the literature and art circles, but also for the present strengthening of the alliance of proletarian revolutionaries.

We proletarian revolutionaries must aim the spearhead of struggle unwaveringly at the Khrushchev of China, the party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by the top party person in authority taking the capitalist road, form an alliance under the common objective of the struggle, unite the broad revolutionary masses, march courageously forward along the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line! Carry the revolutionary mass criticism through to the end! Hold firm to the orientation of serving the workers, peasants, and soldiers! Long live the dictatorship of the proletariat! Long live the Chinese Communist Party! Long live the all-conquering Mao Zedong's thought! Long live our great leader Chairman Mao!

SUMMARY OF SPEECH IN ALBANIA (1967)

From: *Peking Review* (11 August 1967): 29

Comrade Yao Wenyuan said that Comrade Enver Hoxha highly praised the great militant friendship and revolutionary unity of the Albanian and Chinese Parties. Peoples and youth. And China's great proletarian cultural revolution: firmly supported our exposure and smashing of the plot of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road to usurp Party, government and military power and to bring about a counter-revolutionary restoration: and warmly praised China's Red Guard movement, expressing his hope that the Red Guards would always adhere to Mao Zedong's thought and make still greater contributions to the great proletarian cultural revolution.

He also said that Comrade Hoxha wished Chairman Mao good health at all times and a long, long life and had asked the delegation to convey the Albanian people's highest revolutionary tribute to Chairman Mao and Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, to Premier Chou En-lai and to Comrades Chen Po-ta, Kang Sheng and Chiang Ching.

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan told how the Albanian people and youth, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Hoxha, were courageously standing at the forefront to defend the revolutionary line of Marxism-Leninism, and he spoke of their brilliant achievements in the struggle to oppose U.S. imperialism, Soviet modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries, and in socialist construction. He made special mention of how the Albanian youth were pushing ahead with the campaign to revolutionize themselves.

He stressed that China's Red Guards have a great internationalist responsibility. Chairman Mao teaches us that only by emancipating the whole of mankind can the proletariat finally emancipate itself. This includes the task of world revolution. We Red Guards should resolutely implement the teachings of Chairman Mao,

and always bear in mind the oppressed people and nations and the tasks of the world revolution, he declared.

Concluding, he said: “We Red Guards are always loyal to Chairman Mao, to Mao Zedong’s thought, to the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, to the dictatorship of the proletariat and to proletarian internationalism. And are always Chairman Mao’s faithful young Red fighters!”

LETTER TO MAO ZEDONG (1967)

From *Issues and Studies* (Taipei), vol. vii, no. 1 (October 1971), transcribed on Marxists.org.

Chairman:

This time I returned to Shanghai for the National Day festival and stayed there for 12 days. During the period, I made some investigations. I convened several investigation meetings and took a look at the basic echelon, including the Diesel Plant where armed struggle had been most fierce. Once I got in touch with the masses, I learned a lot of new and lively things. I deeply felt that the important instructions Chairman Mao has recently put forward all reflect the inner demands of the broad masses of revolutionary people and touched on the most important and critical problems of the current revolutionary movement, and therefore, they possess boundless power. Take the training class for example. Cadres need it; so do the leaders of rebels. The No. 8 Dye Plant, which produces activated dye, has opened eight study classes since the establishment of the revolutionary committee in July. Each class lasting from one week to ten days studies the "three constantly read articles" and other works by the Chairman. Participants include regiment leaders of the rebel groups as well as those cadres who have committed mistakes. The class concentrates on solving two problems: 1. How to use the Chairman's thought as a guideline for ideological and political work; 2. How to deal with the masses correctly, unite the masses, and not to be divorced from the masses. After new cadres have held power, the main complaint by the workers is that they have seldom mingled with the masses. To study in this manner is very effective. Short-term study classes of this kind may be conducted by plants and other organizations. When they hear the Chairman's latest instructions, they immediately feel that they are the reflection of their innermost feelings.

Several problems are covered by my investigation: 1. The problem of the National Party Congress and that of the Party; 2. The problem of having better troops and simpler administration; 3. The problem of mass criticism and repudiation; 4. The problem of great alliance. Now I shall report the first two problems to you, hoping to receive instructions from you.

2. The Problem of the Ninth Party Congress

At four symposia (with the revolutionary committee, Red Guards, rebel Party members at factories and schools, and P.L.A. comrades), on the basis of Chairman Mao's instructions, I solicited opinions from the audience. I had expected that the participants would be surprised, but it was not so, since discussions had already taken place among the rebels. Apparently, the masses had been thinking about this matter.

When should it be convened? The overwhelming majority believed that it should be held as early as possible. Most of them said it should be held in the first half of next year and should not be later than the fall of that year.

How should the delegates be produced? Should they be selected from bottom to top, level by level? A few comrades thought it should be done in this way; however, most of them did not express definite opinions. They said: "In the past candidates were actually decided by the superior. After one year of the Cultural Revolution, the political failures of many people, whether good or bad, have been seen even more clearly, more clearly than at any previous times, therefore, delegates may be selected through consultations with concerned quarters and then approved by Party congresses of cities, districts, or neighborhoods." "It may be begun at the central level with the opening of the National Party Congress. When there is a program, it will be more advantageous for the Party congresses at each level to meet." "Chairman Mao has said that the form should not be restricted, but the content should be stressed; the name does not matter much, but essence is important." There were even some comrades who suggested: "The National People's Congress should be convened in

the same way; it should be held at the same time with the Ninth Party Congress in order to solve the problem of Liu Shao-ch'i."

Red Guards said: "A greater number of representatives from workers and Red Guards should be allowed to be present at the Congress." "It is better to absorb some workers and Red Guards into the Party."

Shall Wang Ming be selected? Shall Liu [Shao-ch'i], Teng [Hsiao-p'ing], and Tao [Chu] be selected? Shall Peng [Chen], Lo [Jui-ch'ing], Lu [Ting-i], and Yang [Shang-kun] be selected? The consensus of opinion was that they should not be selected. "Wang Ming has become a citizen of the Soviet Union. Can we select a Russian agent?" "All renegades should not be selected, which is a big principle." "Liu Shao-ch'i is a renegade and he should be further criticized and liquidated." There were some who said: "Chairman Mao may decide to keep a few teachers of negative example, if so, we should listen to Chairman Mao. But, we hope there will not be too many, and they should first be thoroughly criticized." People generally know more about Liu than Teng.

How about the leadership organ of the Party? Many comrades were of the opinion that it might take the form of the revolutionary committee. There is the Party nucleus in the revolutionary committee which is authorized to perform the functions of the municipal council. The good point about this is unified leadership which facilitates association with the masses and the thorough implementation of Chairman Mao's proletarian line. There was another opinion which was that when formal power organs are established in the future, the division of power between the municipal council and the municipal people's council will still be necessary, otherwise, it would be difficult to hold a people's congress, because, if a person is busy with government affairs, he will inevitably neglect Party affairs.

Many comrades believed that in places where revolutionaries had already been established, the Party should have a leadership nucleus, and outstanding leaders of the rebel groups could be absorbed into the Party and allowed to frequently participate in the nucleus meeting of the Party. This nucleus meeting, just as has been pointed

out by Chairman Mao, should not be formed subjectively or self-proclaimed; they should be naturally formed and developed in the course of struggle. Reorganization of the Party should not start from the basic level, but from the leadership organ. The districts, counties, and bureaus and units equivalent to bureaus in Shanghai had established 35 bodies of three-way alliance by October 5 with a total of 856 committee members of which 457 were Party members, representing 53 percent. A group of comparatively good Party members have already been elected to the leadership bodies by the revolutionary masses. Some outstanding revolutionaries have practically played the role of Party members. I believe this opinion is fairly reasonable and may be used as a reference. I do not know whether this is correct or not.

Before the "January Revolution," few Party members joined rebels, generally from two to five percent. After January of this year, more Party members successively joined the rebels, the percentage varying from 40 to 80. The practical experience of class struggle has told us that our proletarian revolutionary party—the vanguard of the proletariat—must be formed on the foundation of revolutionary workers, revolutionary peasantry, revolutionary fighters, revolutionary intellectuals, and revolutionary cadres, and only in this way can we lead several tens of thousands of masses to carry the proletarian revolution through to the end. "The call for restoring the Party organization is not a good slogan; it will be easily distorted as meaning a return to the old situation." It should be called reorganization and transformation. The revisionist stuff of Liu Shao-ch'i needs continued vigorous criticism. These points warrant special attention: First, the question of the nature of the Party and its mission. Second, the question of the line of Party building. ("Those who have made a good performance in production and are obedient may be allowed to join the Party.") Third, the question of relationship with the masses. (This is a fundamental problem. Some party members manifested deep hatred when talking about how they had become "docile tools" for revisionism under the pernicious influence of Liu Shao-ch'i's black "Self-Cultivation" and how they had been deceived

by the Liu-Teng line during the early period of the Cultural Revolution and thus took steps to suppress the masses.) Fourth, the question of democratic centralism and consolidating proletarian dictatorship. All this requires using the Mao Zedong thought to thoroughly criticize and repudiate Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist viewpoints. Is this conclusion correct or not?

A unanimous earnest wish is that Volume V of the Selected Works of Mao Zedong can be published before the opening of the Ninth Party Congress to provide historical material on the struggle between the two lines within the Party. Many Party members (particularly rebel groups of workers) have hoped to gain a greater understanding of the Party history, to learn the origin and development of the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois counterrevolutionary line, and to know the historical background of certain personages. In the past, they could read the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party," but now the document is no longer useful.

2. The Problem of Having Better Troops and Simpler Administration

This is an urgent problem.

Over the past several months, staff members of the Municipal Revolutionary Committee have increased considerably. At present, there are 20 departments with 3,229 employees. There are 763 workers in the General Office alone, which does not include those of revolutionary mass organizations who have left their production posts. Anyway, this organization is too big. The bigger the structure, the greater the chances for bad elements of all types to penetrate and for leading cadres to be divorced from the masses. Once hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie, they [leading cadres] will develop the mountain-stronghold mentality. The increase of personnel in some departments was due to the development of mountain-stronghold mentality. After consulting with Comrade Chun-chiao, we decided that at least half or two-thirds or even more of the personnel should be

slashed. The ideological work in this respect is very difficult and important. We have already transmitted to leading cadres the Chairman's instructions concerning having better troops and simpler administration.

The problems concerning the relationship between cadres and the masses, having better troops and simpler administration, and ideological and political work, and training classes as well as continuation of mass criticism must be given attention by special editorials of the People's Daily and Red Flag. And the Chairman's important instructions shall be quoted in these editorials. Is this consideration correct or not?

Since January of this year, most of the rebel leaders have gradually become mature in the course of struggle and have learned how to hold and wield power for the proletariat. The situation is excellent and is becoming better and better. In cities and districts and at the basic level, we saw a large number of good cadres with high spirits who dared to make revolution and to shoulder the burden. But, there were also a small number of comrades who began to enjoy feasts, applause, flattery, and driving in sedans. Hit by the sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie one by one, they began to be divorced from the masses and no longer desired to go deep among the masses and be their pupils. A Red Guard organization of middle school students wrote to us, criticizing some leaders for "seeking fame, fortune, limelight, and physical enjoyment." They voiced the hope that "a warning will be signaled in order to effect revolutionization." This reminded me of the brief episode of "three anti's" in 1949. In addition to study classes, Comrade Chun-chiao is prepared to hold a few small-sized meetings for educational purposes and for face-to-face talks.

I am afraid that too much of your precious time may be taken away. Therefore my letter stops here.

The report on the other two problems will be made later. Enclosed for your reference is a copy of the minutes of the symposium of Party members.

With a revolutionary salute of the proletariat. Yao Wenyuan

CHINESE RED GUARDS WILL UNITE AND FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE WITH ALBANIAN YOUTH FOR EVER (1967)

From *Peking Review* 29 (1967): 26–30

Dear Comrades, Comrades-in-Arms!

We the Chinese Red Guard delegation wish to convey greetings to the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Union of Working Youth from our great leader Chairman Mao! On behalf of all Chinese Red Guard fighters, we extend militant proletarian salute to the comrades attending this congress! We pay our highest and warmest respects to the Albanian people and youth, to the Albanian Party of Labour and to the great leader of the Albanian people and close friend of the Chinese people Comrade Enver Hoxha!

Taught by Chairman Mao Zedong and nurtured by the thought of Mao Zedong, we Chinese Red Guards have now had a year's experience in fighting: However, this is the first time that we have sent delegates a broad to attend a conference. We are especially happy that the first international conference we attend is one held by you Albanian comrades, our closest comrades-in-arms, and that the first country we visit is heroic Albania which holds high the revolutionary red banner of Marxism-Leninism. This is another vivid proof of the unbreakable militant friendship of our two Parties and of the youth and people of our two countries!

Under the correct leadership of the glorious Albanian Party of Labour headed by the great communist fighter Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Albanian Union of Working Youth and the broad masses of Albania's revolutionary youth, together with the working people of the whole country, have made tremendous achievements in fulfilling the fighting tasks laid down at the Fifth Congress of the Albanian Party of Labour. We Red Guard fighters extend our warmest congratulations on these achievements!

The Albanian people and their youth, holding high the militant banner of opposing U.S. imperialism, resolutely oppose its policies of

aggression and war, and firmly support the Vietnamese people's just war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Arab people's just struggle against the aggression mounted by U.S. and British imperialism and their lackey, Israel, the national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and the anti-imperialist, revolutionary struggles of all the peoples of the world. You are worthy of the name of a seasoned, indomitable shock brigade in the fight against imperialism.

The people of Albania and their youth, holding high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism and taking a clear-cut, uncompromising principled stand, have dealt forceful blows at the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, the Tito renegade clique and other renegades and scabs of all stripes. You have exposed without let-up the crimes of the Soviet modern revisionist renegade clique in serving as an accomplice of U.S. imperialism and betraying the interests of the Soviet people and the people's revolution. You have exposed in good time the dirty tricks and deceptive methods by which the Soviet revisionists have tried to patch up their rickety revisionist cart. You have relentlessly exposed the reactionary nature of the sinister counter-revolutionary meeting at Karlovy Vary convened by Brezhnev, Kosygin and other new European scabs. You have criticized and repudiated the "middle road" fallacy. You have energetically supported the proletarian revolutionaries in Europe and countries in other parts of the world and energetically supported the Left youth organizations in their struggles against imperialism and modern revisionism. You have set a glorious example for all the revolutionary youth of the world!

The Albanian people and their youth, powerfully holding aloft the banner of ideological and cultural revolution, are mounting further attacks on the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes. Under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour and Comrade Enver Hoxha, you have strengthened your political and ideological education of youth, and have organized the study of Marxist-Leninist theory on a large scale. You have struggled fiercely against reactionary religious forces and are sweeping away religious superstitions and the

backward customs and habits that have poisoned people's minds for centuries. You have dealt resounding blows at the old feudal force of habit which discriminates against and oppresses women. You have criticized and repudiated bureaucracy, which is characterized by separation from the masses and is harmful to the interests of the masses, and have introduced the system of rotation of cadres between; the leading bodies and the grass roots. You have advocated and developed the communist style of subordinating personal interests to the overall interests of the proletariat, and you have cut down high salaries, abolished many extra remunerations and reduced the size of private plots of land. In the mass revolutionization movement, you have been further developing democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The whole series of measures for revolutionization adopted by you and many revolutionization proposals put forward by the masses have helped consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and promote the ideological revolutionization of the broad masses, including the youth. This is a valuable contribution to developing the socialist revolution and preventing capitalist restoration. The emergence among the Albanian people of such great communist fighters as Adam Reka who heroically laid down his life in selfless devotion to the public interest is the best proof of the infinite might of ideological revolutionization.

The socialist construction in Albania is advancing triumphantly along the line set by the Fifth Congress of the Party of Labour. The Albanian people have scored remarkable successes in accomplishing the tasks of the first year of the Fourth Five-Year Plan. The situation in industrial and agricultural production is excellent. Agricultural co-operation in the mountainous areas has been successfully instituted. The broad masses of revolutionary young people of Albania are dedicating their youth to the implementation of the Fourth Five-Year Plan with boundless enthusiasm and redoubled confidence. Voluntary labour campaigns have been launched in many places with the greatest vigour. Throughout Albania there is vitality and prosperity and a new upsurge has emerged in socialist construction.

The Albanian youth have made brilliant achievements in socialist construction and in the great struggle against imperialism and revisionism. Comrade Enver Hoxha correctly pointed out in his appraisal: "The [Albanian] youth have made tremendous contributions to the struggle for liberation and socialist construction... The youth will inherit and advance our revolutionary cause. They will succeed in building a socialist society and will fight for the building of communism. They will continue the struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction and will wage it in a still deeper way. They will always hold aloft the banner of Marxism-Leninism."

Comrades! We Chinese Red Guard fighters regard the successes of the fraternal Albanian people and their youth as our own and feel most elated and inspired!

Chairman Mao has said, "Heroic people's Albania has become a great beacon of socialism in Europe." As a result of your new successes in the class struggles at home and internationally and in socialist construction this beacon of socialism becomes ever brighter. These achievements are a tribute to the heroic Albanian people and youth, to the glorious Albanian Party of Labour and to the great Marxist-Leninist, Comrade Hoxha.

Comrades! Under the guidance of the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and through one year's vigorous mass movement, the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, which is unprecedented, has won great historic victories. The situation both in revolution and production is excellent.

The great proletarian cultural revolution in our country is creating the conditions for a new leap in socialist construction. Amidst the songs of triumph hailing the decisive victories won in the great proletarian cultural revolution in our country, China has successfully exploded its first hydrogen bomb! This is a new victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line! This is another brilliant success in the great proletarian cultural revolution! It indicates that China's sciences, technology, industrial production and national defence capabilities have been raised to a new level. It is another heavy blow

to the nuclear monopoly and nuclear blackmail of U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism! It has boosted enormously the morale of the revolutionary people and greatly deflated the arrogance of imperialism, modern revisionism and the reactionaries of all countries. At present, industry and agriculture in our country are thriving. Industrial production far exceeds the same period last year in both quantity and quality. The summer harvest is a good and heartening one and the autumn crop may also be a bumper one.

After the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique of Peng Chen, Lu Ting-yi and company was crushed, the top person in authority taking the capitalist road hidden in our Party, a careerist of the Khrushchov type, has been pulled out by us Red Guards and the masses of our country! The book on "self-cultivation," which betrays the dictatorship of the proletariat and opposes proletarian revolution, and publicizes the philosophy of selfishness and slavishness will no longer be able to harm the youth and the revolutionary masses under the cover of Marxism-Leninism! This is a great victory of Mao Zedong's thought! This is a great victory in smashing capitalist restoration! This is a great victory for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

The Communique of the Eleventh Plenary Session of Eighth Central Committee of the Communist Party of China pointed out: "Comrade Mao Zedong is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Zedong has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised it to a completely new stage. Mao Zedong's thought is Marxism-Leninism of the era in which imperialism is heading for total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party and country."

The fundamental question of revolution is that of state power. The theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the core of the revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism. Among Chairman Mao's great creative contributions in inheriting, defending and developing Marxism-Leninism in an all-round way, one of the most important is his creative, epoch-making development of the Marxist-Leninist

theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, his deep analysis of the contradictions, classes and class struggles in socialist society, his summation of the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat, his expounding of the law of class struggle in socialist society and his formulation of a whole series of theories, principles and policies concerning the question of making revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a great revolution being waged under the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and by boldly arousing hundreds of millions of people. It began with the criticism and repudiation of representative personalities and representative works of the bourgeoisie in the realm of ideology and culture and has exposed a group of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. The objective of the movement is to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. The method used in the movement is extensive democracy under the dictatorship of the proletariat and under the command of Mao Zedong's thought, the extensive airing of views, big-character posters and great debates, and thoroughly carrying out the mass line, supporting the proletarian revolutionaries, respecting the initiative of the masses and having firm faith in and relying on the great majority of the people and cadres.

The tremendous victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution of our country have once again proved that the Chinese Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong is a great, glorious and correct Party. Our country is a mighty country of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All the intrigues and plots of the enemy, both at home and abroad, will meet an ignominious end.

The U.S. imperialists and Soviet modern revisionists daily fabricate absurd and outlandish rumours to slander and attack China's great proletarian cultural revolution. The thing they fear most is that the revolutionary people rebel against them and make revolution against them. Confronted by the great revolutionary storm of the hundreds of millions of people in China, they are terrified; they are

frightened out of their wits by the great strength of the Chinese people shown in the great cultural revolution. Sensing that they will be buried in the angry waves of people's revolution, they are panic-stricken and raise a big hue and cry. This proves that China's great proletarian cultural revolution has hit them where it hurts most!

Comrades! The Red Guards are the product of this unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution. The Red Guard movement is a completely new form of organization of revolutionary youth which has arisen to meet the needs of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Red Guards constitute the vanguard of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

When the Red Guards, which is something new, had just emerged on the horizon, they were warmly supported and given correct guidance by our great leader Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao received more than 10 million Red Guards from all parts of the country. The letter to China's Red Guards written by Chairman Mao on August 1 last year is their general programme.

Chairman Mao said: The revolutionary actions of the Red Guards show their "wrath against and denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs who exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups, and show that it is justified to rebel against reactionaries. I offer you my warm support."

Chairman Mao also said: "In addition, while supporting you, we ask you to pay attention to uniting with all persons that can be united. Regarding those who have committed serious mistakes, after their mistakes have been pointed out, they too should be given work and a way out for correcting their mistakes and turning over a new leaf. Marx: said: the proletariat must emancipate not only itself but mankind as a whole. Without emancipating mankind as a whole the proletariat cannot achieve final emancipation. Comrades, please pay attention to this thesis too."

This letter from Chairman Mao shows his great support, solicitude and encouragement for us Red Guards! It is the supreme instruction to the Red Guards!

This letter incisively shows that the nature and tasks of the Red Guard movement are to rebel against the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, imperialism; and revisionism and their running dogs, to rebel against the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, to launch fierce offensives against them, and to struggle to the end against all exploiting classes and their reactionary ideology. The imperialists and modern revisionists have an inveterate hatred for us Red Guards because we want to rebel to the end until all these pests are wiped out.

This letter from Chairman Mao indicates that we must strive to unite with all who can be united. Adhering to Chairman Mao's teachings, we Red Guards have firmly adhered to the general orientation of the struggle in the great cultural revolution. We have tried to unite with the broad masses of youth and other people, making the unity of the proletarian revolutionaries as the core. As to those who have committed mistakes but do not refuse to correct them after repeated education or do not persist in their mistakes, we actively help these people correct their mistakes. Studying and rectifying our style while carrying on the fight, we Red Guard fighters are learning to swim in swimming, learning to make revolution in making revolution. We have been constantly promoting the proletarianization of our ideology, so as to do our best to be reliable successors to the cause of communism.

Comrades! Chairman Mao is the red commander of us Red Guards and we are the little red soldiers of Chairman Mao. We boundlessly love and have confidence, loyalty and respect for Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao is the red sun which shines most brightly in our hearts. The slogan of the Red Guards is, as Comrade Lin Piao put it: "Study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good fighters." At present, in the course of the all-out, revolutionary criticism and repudiation, a mass movement to creatively study and apply the works of Chairman

Mao has emerged on an unprecedented scale and a group of brand-new young proletarian revolutionary fighters who have mastered the thought of Mao Zedong have come into being in the course of the struggle.

We Chinese Red Guards never for a moment forget our internationalist obligations. We resolutely support the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. imperialist -aggression and for national salvation and pledge to back them up fully: We resolutely support the heroic struggle of the Arab people against the U.S. and British imperialists and their lackey Israel! We resolutely support the just struggle of the revolutionary people of Asia, Africa and Latin America in taking up arms to overthrow the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism and its lackeys! We resolutely support the Left revolutionary organizations in their uncompromising struggle against revisionist political parties! We warn the U.S. imperialist paper tiger: Chinese Red Guards are the staunch reserve force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. We are fully prepared to rush to the forefront of battle at the first call of our motherland to smash to smithereens the imperialists headed by the United States!

The Soviet modern revisionist renegade clique is now notorious and bankrupt. They brutally suppress the Soviet people. They are collapsing from within. Their masks can no longer hide their counter-revolutionary hideous features. The thread-bare flag of "united action" which they wave has become more and more ineffective. Just like their behaviour in Vietnam, they have now once again played the role of open accomplice of U.S. imperialism in selling out the interests of the Arab people and undermining the just war of the Arab people against U.S. and British aggression. Thereby the Soviet modern: revisionist clique enabled the Arab people and the people of the whole world to see more clearly their shameful features-as counter-revolutionary traitors. Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism are like a pair of rats scurrying across the streets and chased by every passer-by. With the Albanian comrades, Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary people of the whole world, we should carry to the end the struggle against modern revisionism with the

Soviet Communist Party leadership as its centre! We believe that the Soviet Communist Party revisionist renegade clique will certainly not escape the just judgment at the hands of the Soviet people and the revolutionary people of the whole world! The Soviet revolutionary youth and working people will certainly rise in rebellion to thoroughly overthrow the reactionary rule of the privileged bourgeois stratum represented by Brezhnev, Kosygin and company! The brilliant banner of the October Revolution will one day fly over the Kremlin again!

Dear comrades-in-arms!

Comrade Mao Zedong says: "We are your true friends and comrades. And you are ours. You are not like those false friends and double-dealers who have 'honey on their lips and murder in their hearts', and neither are we. Our militant revolutionary friendship has stood the test of violent storms."

Comrade Enver Hoxha says: "We treasure very much the true friendship among the peoples." "This is the friendship between revolutionaries, the friendship between comrades-in-arms for the successful realization of the sacred ideals of socialism and communism, therefore, it is living and green for ever, it will be invincible for all time."

Comrades! The target of our struggle is the same. Our ardent hearts are closely linked. Our hands are tightly joined in revolution. Our strong revolutionary friendship is impossible for any force on earth to smash. In the forthcoming great revolutionary struggle, the Chinese Red Guards will certainly follow Chairman Mao's teaching, learn in earnest from you the proletarian revolutionary spirit, and always unite with you, fight side by side with you and win victory together!

Victory and success to the Fifth Congress of the Union of Working Youth of Albania!

Long live the Albanian Party of Labour and its respected and beloved great leader Comrade Enver Hoxha, leading the youth of Albania on their victorious advance!

Lone live Comrade Mao Zedong!

Long live great, invincible Marxism-Leninism!

Long live the militant friendship between the peoples and the youth of China and Albania!

Long live the great unity of the revolutionary people and the revolutionary youth of the whole world!

ON THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY DOUBLE-DEALER CHOU YANG (1967)

From Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1967.

The great proletarian cultural revolution now in full spate is like a tidal wave flushing out all hidden vipers from their dens.

The former Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party—the "court of the Demon King"—where counter-revolutionary revisionists had been entrenched for a long time, has fallen with a crash!

At the recent Literature and Art Workers' Rally for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Comrade Jiang Qing pointed out:

> The heinous crimes committed by the former Peking Municipal Party Committee, the former Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and the former Ministry of Culture when they ganged up against the Party and the people must be exposed and liquidated in a thoroughgoing way. The bourgeois reactionary line within our Party which opposes the proletarian revolutionary line of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao must also be exposed and repudiated in a thoroughgoing way.

The exposure and liquidation of Chou Yang's gang in the former Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee has a direct bearing on the use of Mao Zedong's thought to summarize the revolutionary history of the past decades, on the history of the struggle between the socialist and capitalist roads during the period of the socialist revolution, on the history of the struggle within the Party between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line, and on the further uprooting of the bourgeois anti-Party and anti-socialist political black line. This exposure and liquidation must be carried out in a penetrating and thoroughgoing way.

Chou Yang is typical of counter-revolutionary double-dealers. He consistently played double-dealing tricks to disguise his counter-revolutionary political features, tampered with history, but contrived to slip through unscathed, waved "red flags" to oppose the red flag and carried out a variety of criminal activities. His is an excellent negative example which will teach us from now on to recognize counter-revolutionary double-dealers. On November 29, 1965, at the National Conference of Young Activists in Spare-Time Literary Writing, he delivered his last public report entitled "Hold Aloft the Red Banner of Mao Zedong's Thought and Be a Literary Fighter Good at Both Manual Labour and Writing." This report was a typical example of waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag.

Faithfully carrying out the orders of the ringleaders of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, Chou Yang in this report tried in every way to resist Comrade Mao Zedong's directive on criticizing and repudiating representatives of the bourgeoisie. Under the camouflage of Marxist phraseology, he unscrupulously distorted and falsified the class struggle on the cultural front over the previous sixteen years. In this report, which stood the facts of history on their head, Chou Yang the revisionist posed as one carrying out Mao Zedong's line on literature and art. Even more outrageous was the despicable way in which he tampered with Comrade Mao Zedong's extremely important directive about the proletarian cultural revolution.

In June 1964, Comrade Mao Zedong made a penetrating criticism of Chou Yang and the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and its affiliated associations, which Chou Yang controlled. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out:

> In the last 15 years these associations, most of their publications (it is said that a few are good) and by and large the people in them (that is not everybody) have not carried out the policies of the Party. They have acted as high and mighty bureaucrats, have not gone to the workers, peasants and soldiers and have not reflected the socialist revolution and

> socialist construction. In recent years, they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club.

This was sharp criticism and a heavy blow to the anti-Party and anti-socialist black line in literary and art circles headed by Chou Yang. This directive thoroughly exposed the fact that since the liberation of the whole country the leaders of the former Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, including Chou Yang, had been carrying out an anti-Party, anti-socialist revisionist line on literature and art opposed to Mao Zedong's thought; that the majority of organizations, groups and publications on the cultural front had all along been controlled by a revisionist clique and become a tool for an overall attack against the proletariat by the bourgeoisie, making a struggle for taking over power imperative; that Chou Yang and the other revisionists in literary and art circles were preparing public opinion for a capitalist restoration and, directed by political careerists of the Khrushchov type, were bound to stage a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat of the Petofi Club type as soon as the time was ripe.

This directive of Comrade Mao Zedong's, which was issued to Party organizations at all levels as an official document on July 11, 1964, gave an impetus to the cultural revolution throughout the country. However, in his speech Chou Yang, who had always resisted Comrade Mao Zedong's directives, had the effrontery to twist this statement into the following: "He said that the leading members of some important cultural departments and some publications in literature and art had for the most part failed to carry out the policies of the Party, failed to go to the workers, peasants and soldiers and failed to reflect the socialist revolution and construction." Chou Yang deleted Comrade Mao Zedong's reference to the long period of "the past 15 years" and reduced Comrade Mao Zedong's formulation of "most" cultural departments and their publications to "some" cultural departments and _ publications in order to cover up the crimes of this anti-Party, anti-socialist black line by every means available. Comrade Mao Zedong's exposure of this gang of people as "bureaucrats and

overlords," meaning that they were bourgeois or aristocratic bureaucrats who exercised a dictatorship over the proletariat and working people, was also deleted by Chou Yang. Most outrageous of all was his complete deletion of Comrade Mao Zedong's most important statement, an accurate scientific thesis and severe political warning, that these associations under Chou Yang's control "In recent years, they have slid right down to the brink of revisionism. Unless they remould themselves in real earnest, at some future date they are bound to become groups like the Hungarian Petofi Club." Thus "hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Zedong's thought" was a camouflage for a huge, nefarious plot to resist Mao Zedong's thought by tampering with and distorting it.

However, this directive of Chairman Mao's cannot be expunged by Chou Yang's sinister hand. Let us take Chairman Mao's directive as a guide to analyse the history of class struggle over the past 16 years and use a wealth of hard facts to expose the true features of the counter-revolutionary double-dealer Chou Yang.

THE HISTORY OF A COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY DOUBLE-DEALER

In his report to the young spare-time writers, Chou Yang, posing as one who had "always been correct," summarized the "five great debates and criticisms" since liberation. He had the effrontery to masquerade as the representative of the "full and correct implementation of Mao Zedong's line on literature and art."

This was a fraud, a lie, turning black into white. It was an utter falsification of history done in broad daylight.

Let us see where Chou Yang really stood before and after each major struggle on the ideological front.

The first major struggle was the criticism in 1951 of the film The Life of Wu Hsun.[26] This struggle took place less than two years

[26] Wu Hsun (1838–96) was a big landlord, usurer and rogue during the Qing Dynasty, but the reactionary film *The Life of Wu Hsun* presents him as a great man

after the founding of the People's Republic of China. At that time, land reform and the movement to suppress counter-revolutionaries were in full swing. The bourgeoisie and the remnant forces of feudalism, plotting together, launched a fierce onslaught on the young dictatorship of the proletariat. They brought out The Life of Wu Hsun, an utterly abominable counter-revolutionary film which eulogized the landlord class and its flunkeys, advocated the most shameless servility and capitulationism and defamed the revolutionary struggle of the peasantry. Long before liberation the bogus China Film Company run by the Kuomintang reactionaries had started work on this film; but the guns of the PLA boomed before it was finished. This counter-revolutionary film, left unfinished by the Kuomintang reactionaries, was completed after liberation under the personal supervision of Hsia Yen, another ringleader in Chou Yang's revisionist clique. As soon as it was released, a group of representatives of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party immediately beat the drums for the film. They called for learning from Wu Hsun and the "spirit of Wu Hsun". In other words, they wanted the proletariat to act in the manner of Wu Hsun and, throwing themselves at the feet of the landlord class and bourgeoisie, to capitulate to them. Comrade Mao Zedong started himself the criticism of *The Life of Wu Hsun*. In an editorial he wrote for the *Renmin Ribao* (*People's Daily*) on May 20 that year entitled "Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film The Life of Wu Hsun" he sharply pointed out the error of some "Communist Party members who are reputed to have mastered Marxism" in capitulating to the reactionary ideology of the bourgeoisie. He reprimanded them in these stern words:

> Is it not a fact that reactionary bourgeois ideas have found their way into the militant Communist Party? Where on earth is the Marxism which certain Communists claim to have grasped?

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who was willing to sacrifice himself to provide the sons of poor peasants with a chance to study.

Chou Yang was one of the foremost "Communist Party members" Chairman Mao was referring to. Chou Yang was then vice-director of the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and secretary of the leading Party members' group in the Ministry of Culture. He admitted, "I saw *The Life of Wu Hsun* a long time ago." In fact, it was with his approval that the film was shown throughout the country. Its counter-revolutionary nature was immediately recognized by Comrade Mao Zedong. Once a comrade from the central leadership told Chou Yang that *The Life of Wu Hsun* was a reactionary film advocating bourgeois reformism which must be criticized. Before that comrade could quote Chairman Mao's opinion of it, Chou Yang hit back. He adopted a thoroughly lordly air when he sneered: "Why make such a to-do about a little reformism?"

Only after the publication of the *Renmin Ribao* editorial with Comrade Mao Zedong's stern reprimand did Chou Yang feel impelled to make a brief, insincere self-criticism. In fact, he gave the appearance of compliance but secretly acted in defiance, seeking an opportunity to counter-attack. On June 4, 1951, just after the start of the criticism of *The Life of Wu Hsun*, Chou Yang told one of his henchmen Yu Ling in a sinister letter, "On the question of ideological struggle... we must use caution and care in handling specific problems. Crude methods and impatience won't do." He also said with evident misgiving, "What we most need to know is the real situation." Yu Ling, who had wormed his way into the position of assistant director of the Shanghai Cultural Bureau, protected and conspired with a motley crew of ghosts and monsters. By "caution and care" Chou Yang meant that Yu Ling must be careful to protect the bourgeois forces, protect those counter-revolutionary elements who wore the cloak of literature and art. "Crude methods and impatience won't do" meant that the counter-revolutionary revisionists in cultural circles must make every effort to water down the sharp political content of Chairman Mao's criticism and use delaying tactics to transform a serious class struggle into a question of "understanding". The words the "real situation" were underlined because Chou Yang wanted to carry on anti-Party activities by collecting materials of various kinds

on how to protect bourgeois Rightists. This was a big anti-Party plot on the part of Chou Yang's gang during the criticism of *The Life of Wu Hsun*.

After breaking through Chou Yang's lines of resistance, a fact-finding team, initiated by Comrade Mao Zedong, was organized to investigate the life history of Wu Hsun. This team overcame the delaying tactics and sabotage of Chung Tien-fei, Chou Yang's secretary whom he sent to the team, and carried on its work by relying on the broad masses. The results of its investigations were published between July 23 and July 28 in the *Renmin Ribao* as "An Account of the Investigation into the Life of Wu Hsun." This article, checked by Comrade Mao Zedong, assembled iron-clad facts revealing the reactionary nature of Wu Hsun, a big landlord, usurer and rogue, facts that provide the best. summary of this great debate. Faced with irrefutable proof which made further resistance impossible, Chou Yang promptly changed his tactics and did a volte-face in order to make capital for himself. In an article published in August, after stating casually, "I was unable to fully recognize and point out the film's serious reactionary political character in good time," he suddenly changed his tone and came out with a "systematic" summing up, as if the leader of this great struggle were none other than Chou Yang himself!

It goes without saying that Chou Yang never resigned himself to the criticism by Comrade Mao Zedong. No sooner had the high tide of criticism begun to ebb than he used the Second Conference of All-China Literary and Art Workers as a platform from which to launch a counter-attack by "remedying the excesses" in the criticism of *The Life of Wu Hsun*. In a report entitled "Struggle to Create More Good Works of Literature and Art', he fulminated: "Since the criticism of the film *The Life of Wu Hsun*... some wrong tendencies have appeared in our work of criticism... which should be set right." He then made a wild attack on some allegedly "crude and arbitrary criticism which proceeded from dogmatic formulas." He said: "The extremist views of part of the audience [i.e. the revolutionary criticism of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers], plus the failure of the Party

leadership to 'support' 'creative work', have upset many writers and made them feel depressed. A way must be found to improve their morale."

Please observe how thoroughly Chou Yang "remedied excesses"! In fact he completely negated the criticism of the reactionary film The Life of Wu Hsun initiated by Comrade Mao Zedong, summarily dismissed the criticisms by the workers, peasants and soldiers, and denied Comrade Mao Zedong's criticism of him and his like as "Communist Party members who are reputed to have mastered Marxism." The moment the proletariat started to criticize the bourgeoisie, Chou Yang made this great clamour about persons being "upset" and "depressed." How sensitively this representative of the bourgeoisie reflected the demands of his class! Please observe what role Chou Yang played before and after the criticism of *The Life of Wu Hsun*! At the outset, in the role of the "grand old man" of literary and art circles, he led his band in spreading poison, violently opposing Mao Zedong's thought and the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and resisting his instructions. The moment the battle began, he hastened to make a sham self-criticism and slipped through by hoodwinking the Party and the people. Then, assuming the posture of being "correct." he set out to "sum up" the struggle and credit himself with its achievements, Later, step by step, he diverted the movement to the right and in revenge launched a counter-attack on revolutionaries. Please note, comrades, that Chou Yang is a master at counter-revolutionary double-dealing tricks. If this point is grasped, the basic features of Chou Yang in each of the struggles become clear and the characteristics of the other "double-faced people" who have already been exposed or are yet to be exposed can also be clearly seen.

The second major struggle was the criticism in 1954 of Yu Ping-po's *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"*[27] and Hu

[27] *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"* is a book written by Yu Ping-po, a bourgeois academic "authority," in which the author evaluates the classical Chinese novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber* from a bourgeois idealist approach and using the method of scholastic textual research. In September 1954 a nationwide

Shih's reactionary ideology. That struggle took place at an important juncture when the socialist transformation in China was developing in depth. After the Party put forward its general line for socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce, the bourgeoisie, not reconciled to its doom, stepped up its attacks on the socialist forces and searched more energetically for agents for itself within the Communist Party. At the Fourth Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party, the plot of the Kao Kang—Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance to usurp Party leadership was thoroughly exposed and crushed. Following Stalin's death, the adverse trend of modern revisionism began to run wild. This situation had a direct effect on literary and art circles in China, as a result of which certain bourgeois elements within and outside the Party became active. Making use of the journals and newspapers under their control, the revisionist clique in literary and art circles headed by Chou Yang praised the bourgeois "authorities" to the skies and supported them; on the other hand, they acted like overlords and resorted to suppression and attacks in dealing with the new emerging Marxist forces, They gave all-out support for the extremely reactionary idealism of Hu Shih's school while mercilessly suppressing anyone who rose to criticize the bourgeoisie, thus serving its resistance to socialist transformation. In view of the grave situation created by this black line's dictatorship over literary and art circles, Comrade Mao Zedong initiated the criticism of *Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber"* and of Hu Shih's reactionary ideology.

In his letter of October 16, 1954 to the members of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and other comrades concerned, Comrade Mao Zedong sharply and penetratingly criticized "certain people" who, considering themselves "big shots," suppressed criticism of the bourgeoisie. He said indignantly:

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movement was launched to criticize Yu's book. This was a struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideology and against bourgeois idealism.

The whole thing has been set going by two "nobodies." while the "big shots" usually ignore or even obstruct it, and they form a united front with bourgeois writers on the basis of idealism and are willing captives of the bourgeoisie. It was almost the same when the films *Inside Story of the Ching Court*[28] and *The Life of Wu Hsun* were shown, The film *Inside Story of the Ching Court*, which has been described by certain people as patriotic but is in fact a film of national betrayal, has not been criticized and repudiated at any time since it was shown all over the country. Although *The Life of Wu Hsun* has been criticized, up to now no lessons have been drawn; what is more, we have the strange situation in which Yu Ping-po's

[28] *Inside Story of the Ching Court* is a thoroughly traitorous film shown in Peking in March 1950. In the first instance, the film shamelessly advocates the slave mentality of bending the knee to foreign imperialism. It glamorizes the Emperor Kuang Hsu and the royalists among the landlord class and clamours for "helping the emperor restore the throne and regenerate the imperial regime" by relying on the foreign invasion of China. Furthermore, it viciously slanders the heroic Yi Ho Tuan fighting imperialism as "Boxer bandits" who "committed murder and arson" and who "looked as mad as demons." The film goes to extreme lengths to paint a black picture of them. Ranging itself against Comrade Mao Zedong's great call "Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle," the film speaks with the same voice as the U.S. imperialists and fully meets their needs in their aggression against China and also the needs of their lackeys to stage a counter-revolutionary comeback. But because the top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road extolled it, this traitorous film was not criticized after its showing, but was actually lauded as a "patriotic" film. Those who oppose the thought of Mao Zedong and carry out the bourgeois reactionary line have done their utmost to obstruct criticism of the film. It is perfectly clear that what they actually "love" are the landlords and the bourgeoisie, they examine matters from the standpoint of the idealist conception of history as the landlords and the bourgeoisie do. They are "royalists" in the true sense of the word. Among the "big shots" who applauded Inside Story of the Ching Court are those who put forward the bourgeois reactionary line in the present great proletarian cultural revolution. Their reactionary bourgeois world outlook showing itself in their opposition to the thought of Mao Zedong, and their true nature which urges them to protect the exploiting classes and hate the revolutionary mass movements, was revealed even in the early days of the People's Republic when they sang the praises of *Inside Story of the Ching Court*.

idealism is tolerated and lively critical essays by "nobodies" are obstructed. This deserves our attention.

Chou Yang headed the list of the "certain persons" whom Chairman Mao criticized sharply for considering themselves as big shots and suppressing "nobodies" and opposing reprinting articles in the *Renmin Ribao* in criticism of Yu Ping-po. This list also included the *Wenyi Bao* (Literary Gazette) controlled by Ting Ling and Feng Hsueh-feng. It was Chou Yang who always pursued the reactionary line of lauding the bourgeois "authorities" and repressing the new emerging Marxist forces. On June 30, 1949, he published an article in the Wenhui Bao entitled "On the Question of Intellectuals" in which he hailed bourgeois intellectuals as "one of the leading forces of the revolution." without whom "the revolution cannot succeed." He claimed that the cadres of worker and peasant origin who had now entered the cities were ignorant and "their deficiency in this respect must be made good by the intellectuals in the cities." Time and again he loudly advocated "relying on writers' and artists' own organizations" and using what he called "social methods to lead artistic creation" (*Wenyi Bao* 1953, No. 19.) He forbade the proletariat to interfere with the "organizations" under the control of bourgeois "authorities." This was how Chou Yang "made good the deficiency" in the cultural departments by using bourgeois "authorities," renegades and counter-revolutionaries as the "leading force" and suppressed any criticism of them by revolutionaries. It was Chou Yang who on the eve of the criticism of Studies of "The Dream of the Red Chamber" in 1954, in his article "Develop the Revolutionary Fighting Tradition of May Fourth Literature" still prostrated himself before bourgeois intellectuals, praising their "democratic tendencies," "powers of thinking and ability" and "aspirations and ideals," claiming that they were "men of integrity with a good conscience..." Didn't he laud China's bourgeois intellectuals to the skies?

It was Chou Yang who in the same article extolled "the advanced science and advanced culture and ideology of the West." The "West" here meant the bourgeois culture of Europe and America

and every variety of reactionary bourgeois idealist and metaphysical world outlook, of which the most influential was the idealism of the Hu Shih school, namely, bourgeois pragmatism. Didn't this glorification of reactionary bourgeois philosophy of course constitute the greatest support for bourgeois "authorities" like Yu Ping-po? Didn't this reveal Chou Yang a willing spokesman for the bourgeoisie?

It was Chou Yang who once more played the part of a counter-revolutionary double-dealer in this great struggle. From the very start he did his utmost to turn this sharp political and ideological struggle into a "pure" academic discussion. At a meeting of the classical literature section of the Union of Chinese Writers on October 24, 1954, he eagerly urged everyone to study "questions of academic thinking" which "were extremely complex" and produced a long list of topics for scholastic research. But when the *Renmin Ribao* on October 28 following Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions, published an article challenging the editors of *Wenyi Bao* and exposed the bourgeois, aristocratic attitude of certain leading members in literary and art circles, Chou Yang sensed danger in the air and hastily concocted a sham self-criticism. On December 8, 1954, at an enlarged meeting of the presidium of the All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles and the presidium of the Union of Chinese Writers, he declared: "Neglecting to criticize and struggle against bourgeois idealism ... has been the biggest mistake in our work, and I myself have been guilty of this mistake." This "self-criticism," when read between the lines, was simply "everybody has a share in the mistake." Chou Yang had not the least intention of thoroughly criticizing his reactionary bourgeois political stand. What he wanted was to slip through unscathed. By saying "we... have further developed the criticism of Hu Shih's bourgeois idealist outlook," he tried to claim as his own the credit due to others. This is shameless! It is clear to all that Chou Yang was not among those who developed this criticism. When he spoke of a "comprehensive criticism" he was up to his old trick of a volte-face. His aim was to keep the leading position he had usurped in order to divert the struggle to the right and launch a counter-attack. In 1961 and 1962 his gang published millions of words of so-called research

into the date of Tsao Hsueh-chin's death, his ancestry and the location of the Grand View Garden, as well as numerous extraordinary maps, in an attempt to reestablish Hu Shih's idealist school.

The third major struggle took place in 1954 and 1955 against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique,[29] following on the heels of the criticism of Hu Shih. This was an acute struggle waged under the direct leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Tsse-tung and aimed at wiping out hidden counter-revolutionaries. It was a heavy blow for the counter-revolutionary forces. Chou Yang's ideology was in essence the same as Hu Feng's. Like Hu Feng, he kept preaching that "the highest principle of art is truthfulness" (1952) and was opposed to the Marxist world outlook and to Mao Zedong's thought.. Like Hu Feng, he was opposed to the orientation of literature and art serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, and to writers closely joining in the struggles of the workers, peasants and soldiers, going as far as to state, "They can still merge with the masses without joining in their struggles," and "a division of labour is needed between ourselves and the workers and peasants" (1949), blatantly posing as a lordly aristocrat. Like Hu Feng, he was opposed to writing on important themes and to literature and art serving proletarian politics, actively advocating "complete freedom" in "the choice of subject" and "guaranteeing this freedom to the greatest extent" (1953). Like Hu Feng, he advocated bourgeois humanitarianism and the theory of human nature and opposed class analysis, referring in terms of the theory of human nature to "the process of development of a new national character" (1949) to distort the class features and class character of the working people. Like Hu Feng, he argued that "writing is the process of an author's coming to

[29] Hu Feng was a renegade who sneaked into the ranks of the revolution. After liberation he ganged up with some others from literary and art circles to carry out counter-revolutionary activities. In 1954 he presented a 300,000word "suggestion" to the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, viciously attacking the Party's policy and Mao Zedong's teachings on literature and art. In May and June 1955, *Renmin Ribao* (People's Daily) published three collections of material on the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, thoroughly exposing and smashing its plot to sabotage the revolution.

grips with life," "the complete synthesis of the objective and the subjective," "the fusion of self with the outer world" (1941), supporting the most reactionary subjective and idealist approach to writing. Like Hu Feng, he considered Western bourgeois literature and art as the pinnacle of culture, never to be surpassed. In fact, he had all Hu Feng's reactionary views on literature and art, only he camouflaged them more cunningly. In 1952, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and others called a forum to "criticize" Hu Feng, at which they praised Hu Feng as "supporting Comrade Mao Zedong in his political attitude' and "standing with the Party" "in major political orientation and political struggles." They even went so far as to laud this counter-revolutionary ringleader as "a non-Party Bolshevik." This reveals beyond doubt that Chou Yang and company had the same "political orientation" as Hu Feng. The attack on Chou Yang and his gang by Hu Feng's counter-revolutionary clique was not—and could not be-—an attack on these views of theirs. It was pointed out by the *Renmin Ribao* in an editorial note to "The Third Set of Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique": "The counter-revolutionaries' attack on a handful of people was only a pretext to hide their real target." The target of their attack was the Communist Party and Mao Zedong's thought. Chou Yang, however, took advantage of this opportunity. He seized upon Hu Feng's specious attack on him to pass himself off as the representative of Mao Zedong's line on literature and art. After that he began to give himself lordly airs and more blatantly wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag. In fact, however, this was political opportunism and an enormous fraud.

But a fox cannot hide its tail. Hardly had the revolutionary powder-smoke of the criticism of Hu Shih and Hu Feng dispersed when Chou Yang hastily diverted to the right the criticism of the bourgeoisie and the struggle against it. In November 1955 he wrote an essay entitled "A Tribute to Leaves of Grass and Don Quixote." when Comrade Mao Zedong's report "On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation" had been published resolutely criticizing Right opportunism, and China's rural areas were experiencing a great socialist upsurge. Comrade Mao Zedong called on literary and art

workers to go to the countryside to take part in the fiery struggles of the masses and to write in volume about "thousands and tens of thousands" of heroes. Chou Yang, doing the opposite, chose that moment to advocate fervently the "lofty ethical principles" of Don Quixote, that is, bourgeois ethical principles. He gave even more fulsome praise to the 19th century American bourgeois poet Walt Whitman, urging writers to emulate Whitman's "example" of "taking part in struggles." He brought out a "new sort of man" from Whitman's work and held him up as a "glorious model" for the Chinese people.

> Whitman's remarkable achievement in his poetry is the creation of a splendid image of "man." After reading his poems we seem to see this Whitman-type man, a new sort of man, strong, big-hearted, with lofty aspirations, creative labouring hands, and eternal optimism.
>
> It can be categorically stated that Whitman's type of man was a new sort of man, one well worth our studying and a fine example on which to model ourselves.

Here Chou Yang's talk about "creative labouring hands" might delude people into thinking that Whitman wrote about the working people. Not so. The "man" sung in Leaves of Grass was neither an abstract figure, nor the working people, but the personification of the American bourgeoisie. If we look back we find that in November 1941, in an article published in the *Jiefang Ribao* (*Liberation Daily*) in Yenan, Chou Yang had already lauded the American bourgeoisie. At that time he declared outright that the Whitman-type man whom he admired and praised was "typical of the thoroughly self-confident American bourgeoisie, physically fit and broad-minded." It is enough to make one's flesh creep, the utterly shameless way in which Chou Yang extolled the narrow-mindedness of bourgeois individualism as "broad-minded." At a time when 600 million workers and peasants were promoting the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts

and capitalist industry and commerce to an upsurge, when socialist heroes were appearing in their thousands and tens of thousands, Chou Yang once again extolled the sham, reactionary, bourgeois "democracy and freedom" as "lofty aspirations," held Whitman up as an "example" of "taking part in struggles," and called the man "typical of the American bourgeoisie" a "new sort of man," "a fine example." He also lauded Don Quixote's chivalric moral standards as "lofty ethical principles" which should be "studied and copied." Was this not open opposition to Mao Zedong's thought? Was this not a fierce counter-attack on the world-shaking socialist revolution of the 600 million workers and peasants? Was this not encouragement to the bourgeoisie in towns and villages and Right opportunists within the Party to be "eternally optimistic" and firmly to resist socialist transformation and persist in taking the capitalist road?

But this was not enough. In March 1956, immediately after this praise of the Western bourgeoisie, Chou Yang, in a report called "The Task of Building a Socialist Literature," took the extraordinary step of conferring on five writers the title of "contemporary masters of the art of language." By crowning these "masters' he showed himself a loyal agent for bourgeois "authorities." This, again, was something he had learned from abroad. This was an order for the proletariat to prostrate itself before bourgeois "authorities," a wild counter-attack on Comrade Mao Zedong's many instructions. By conferring this title, Chou Yang silenced many people. In 1958 and 1959, when some revolutionary "nobodies" disregarded Chou Yang's orders at the risk of a trouncing and made a slight criticism of some of these "masters." Chou Yang at once rushed to their defence, attacking their critics time and again in the most abusive terms. In February 1962, in a speech to "veteran dramatists" he fulminated: "Some people resent the fact that certain writers have been called masters of language, and claim this is puffing them up...: Do we have to study language or not? Should we learn from masters or not?" This was an attempt to force young people to fawn like slaves upon the bourgeois "masters." This despot forbade voicing the least "resentment" against the bourgeoisie.

The fourth major struggle was the great battle in 1957 to smash the frenzied attack of the bourgeois Rightists. This struggle took place after the socialist transformation of ownership on China's economic front had been in the main completed. The development of the adverse revisionist current in China was directly stimulated by international revisionism, which came out into the open and grew rampant after the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. At that time Chou Yang published a series of speeches and articles providing spiritual weapons for the ruthless attacks by the bourgeois Rightists.

In March 1956, just after the 20th Congress, Chou Yang stated explicitly at a forum on literary and art work:

> It is essential to learn from capitalist countries. We must learn not only from the Soviet Union but also from the progressive art of capitalist countries... *Madame Curie*, for instance, is an excellent film which reaches a high standard both ideologically and artistically. Although this American film made over a dozen years ago does not propagate communism outright, it has the communist world outlook. Madame Curie's world outlook is in accord with that of us Communists. So we must establish a closer relationship with the progressive literature and art of capitalist countries… We should absorb what is good in them; in the process of doing so, we can exert an influence on each other.

This was a blueprint for "peaceful evolution." Madame Curie was a reactionary film made at the time when Roosevelt was in power. It used the story of Madame Curie's life to advocate such reactionary views as bourgeois humanism, pacifism, individual struggle, the pursuit of personal fame and class conciliation. It preached that scientific research transcended classes and politics and served the "whole of mankind." Thus the aim of this film, in fact, was to help the monopoly capitalists extract the maximum profits. This "biographical film' was a relatively subtle attempt by the U.S. monopolists to glamorize the bourgeoisie in order to "influence" and corrupt the

working people of America, to make them leave the path of class struggle and dream of climbing to the upper stratum of capitalist society. Its aim was thoroughly vicious. And this film had much greater power to deceive than the usual run of sexy films or "Westerns." Chou Yang made much of this film and praised it as "progressive art" in order to do what U.S. imperialism wanted to do but could not—to "influence us" with the bourgeois reactionary art of the West, to change our art into revisionist art peddling cheap bourgeois rubbish under the signboard of socialism, to help bring up new capitalist elements. We have only to look at all the pernicious films produced during recent years under the direction of Chou Yang and his gang to see what a close relationship these bad films have with Western bourgeois art, and to understand the effect of studying such "progressive" American films.

Chou Yang said: "*Madame Curie*'s world outlook was in accord with that of us Communists." A great discovery! When you admit that your world outlook is "in accord" with that of the bourgeoisie, you betray the fact that the "communism" professed by you "Communists" is a sham, is really revisionism. Here you let the cat out of the bag. The same is true of those in authority in the field of natural science who are taking the capitalist road. Just as in the case of Chou Yang, in every respect their reactionary world outlook is "in accord" with that of the bourgeoisie.

Shortly afterwards, on September 26, 1956, Chou Yang published an article in the *Renmin Ribao* called "May Literature and Art Play a Tremendous Role in the Great Cause of Building Socialism," This was an anti-socialist, bourgeois reactionary programme. It was a manifesto against the Party and Mao Zedong's thought.

In this article Chou Yang went all out to oppose "vulgarization," "over-simplification," "taboos and commandments" and the "function of propaganda," saying that the Party's "dogmatism," "sectarianism" and "oversimplified and crude attitude in dealing with literary and art work" had "seriously restricted the freedom of writers and artists in creative work." Freedom has a class

content. Abstract "freedom in creative work" is an anti-Party slogan of the bourgeoisie. In class society there is only class freedom, no freedom transcending classes. If the proletariat and working people are free to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, then the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries are not free to carry out counter-revolutionary activities. If the bourgeoisie is free to oppose the Party and oppose socialism, then the proletariat and working people are not free to carry out the socialist revolution and socialist construction. Chou Yang's demand for "freedom in creative work" from the Party is to win freedom for the bourgeoisie to oppose the Party and socialism and to free monsters and demons from "restrictions" so that they could freely carry out counter-revolutionary activities against Mao Zedong's thought and socialism. The "dogmatism" and "taboos and commandments" attacked by Chou Yang were the fundamental principles on proletarian literature and art which Comrade Mao Zedong expounded in the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." His attack on the "function of propaganda" was directed against literature and art publicizing the proletarian, that is, the communist, world outlook. The two anti-Party slogans "freedom in creative work" and "anti-dogmatism" later became the chief weapons of violent attack of bourgeois Rightists in literary and art circles. Right up to 1962 and 1963, there were still people harping on this hackneyed theme of "respect freedom in creative work" to encourage the growth of all kinds of poisonous weeds.

The wilder the bourgeois attack on the proletariat, the more clearly Chou Yang's true counter-revolutionary features were exposed. On April 9, 1957, when the savage attacks of bourgeois Rightists on the proletariat reached a climax, Chou Yang published a speech in Wenhui Bao in which he exultantly proclaimed, "Freer choice of subject-matter for dramatists is a great event in our theatre." This was to support the troop of monsters rampaging on the stage. He heaped praise on the poisonous weeds "critical of life"—an expression borrowed by the Rightist Liu Pin-yen and others from the Soviet revisionists—claiming that "works which sharply expose and criticize the negative phenomena in life are attracting more and more

attention." That month, Chou Yang convened a series of meetings to fan the flames and foment trouble, to oppose "rigour" and demand a "thaw," to incite the Rightists to hasten the coming of "spring." namely, the restoration of capitalism. In a report made on May 13, he wildly slandered Party members as "spies" and "blocks of wood." praising the "courage" of Wenhui Bao which had become the mouthpiece of the Chang Po-chun—Lo Lung-chi alliance. He said that those who spoke of killing several million Communists were "not necessarily counter-revolutionaries." Here he really bared his poison fangs! This is conclusive proof that he was a big Rightist who had escaped undetected.

But as soon as the anti-Rightist struggle started, this wily counter-revolutionary double-dealer trimmed his sails to the wind and by a sudden metamorphosis concealed his features as a big Rightist. At the start of the rectification movement Chou Yang and those in leading positions in the former Propaganda Department of the Central Committee had tried most energetically to reverse the decision on the anti-Party clique of Ting Ling and Chen Chi-hsia; they urged that its anti-Party label be removed, and directed the spearhead of their attack against the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. But when the anti-Rightist struggle started, this big Rightist Chou Yang at once made use of the repudiation of Ting Ling, Chen Chi-hsia and Feng Hsueh-feng to masquerade as Left; and posing as one who had been "correct all along," he summed up the struggle in literary and art circles. In the article "A Great Debate on the Literary and Art Front" he divided writers and artists into "two kinds of people," one kind "not of one heart with the Party" and "unwilling to remould themselves in line with the collective spirit," while the other kind, supposed to include Chou Yang, had "already discarded individualism" and were "of one heart with the Party." How despicable these double-faced tactics appear when we look at Chou Yang's vicious Rightist statements! Using his double-dealing tactics, Chou Yang had taken advantage of the struggle against the counter-revolutionary Hu Feng clique; now he did the same in this struggle against the anti-Party clique of Ting Ling, Chen Chi-hsia and Feng Hsueh-feng. He availed

himself of both struggles to cover up his own crimes, to shield a group of Rightists and traitors so that they could avoid detection by the masses, and to place a gang of adherents to his black line in a variety of leading posts in literary and art circles in order to expand his anti-Party, anti-socialist forces. In addition, he took this opportunity to whitewash himself. He tampered with the history of the 1930's when he carried out Wang Ming's Right opportunist line, proposed the capitulationist slogan "a literature of national defence" and slandered Lu Hsun as "sectarian." What a master of trickery!

There are certain people who like to write trilogies. In a broad sense, Chou Yang played a three-part intrigue: frenzied attacks on the Party and Mao Zedong's thought; then a prompt but sham self-criticism or assumed enthusiasm to show that he was taking the correct side; then a large-scale counter-attack in revenge, and new attacks. Chou Yang's history of being "correct all along" is a history of counter-revolutionary double-dealing. But the laws of class struggle operate independent of man's will. Chou Yang slipped through four major struggles. In the fifth major struggle, before he could complete his three-part intrigue his counter-revolutionary revisionist features have been completely exposed by the sharp sword of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

COMPLETE EXPOSURE IN GREAT STORM

Since the general line for socialist construction was put forward in 1958, China's socialist revolution has developed in depth. During this period, the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party headed by Comrade Mao Zedong has carried out two major struggles against the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique and the bourgeois reactionary line within the Party, the one in 1959 and the other at present. In these struggles, China's socialist cause has gained unprecedentedly great victories.

In the great storms of the present class struggle, the former leading members of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Ministry of Culture and the

Peking Municipal Committee of the Party, including Chou Yang, revealed their counter-revolutionary revisionist features more fully. Chou Yang decided that he could now act more boldly, in the belief that his power and political capital had increased, and because he had the Khrushchov-type careerist in the former Peking Municipal Committee behind him as well as those who had put forward the bourgeois reactionary line. He dropped his mask and revealed his true counter-revolutionary colours, making more vicious, unrestrained and clamorous attacks on the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and Mao Zedong's thought.

In January 1959, the Khrushchov revisionist clique convened the 21st Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. At that congress, Khrushchov viciously slandered and attacked China's general line, the people's communes and the great leap forward. Supported by the Khrushchov modern revisionist clique, the Right opportunist anti-Party clique which looked upon itself as a new Hai Jui put forward an out-and-out revisionist programme at the Lushan Meeting in the hope of overthrowing the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao. Zedong and dragging China back on to the dark road of capitalism. In the course of this, Chou Yang frantically carried out intensive counter-revolutionary activities and actively served the political needs of the Right opportunist anti-Party clique.

In February 1959, *Mudan* No. 2 published Chou Yang's "Talks at the Loyang Forum of Propaganda and Educational Workers" which declared that the criticisms made in 1958 had resulted in "a sense of suppression" and this must be overcome so that "everybody dares speak out and express different views." "Everybody" must belong to a class. To which class did "everybody" whom Chou Yang was trying to mobilize belong? He had in mind a handful of bourgeois Rightists. Either the proletariat suppresses the bourgeoisie, and socialism suppresses capitalism, or the other way round. If the proletariat and broad revolutionary masses are not "suppressed" by the bourgeoisie, they are bound to "suppress" the bourgeoisie; for as long as opposed classes exist there is no society with equality for "everybody," in which "everybody" suffers no "suppression." The dictatorship of the

proletariat implements the fullest democracy for the broad masses of the revolutionary people, but must exercise firm dictatorship over the handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists. Exercising dictatorship over the enemy is the only way to guarantee the people's democratic rights. Chou Yang urged that "everybody" should dare "speak out" because he wanted those monsters who had been repudiated to rise up again. He would allow them to "speak out" to attack Mao Zedong's thought and the Party's general line, but he would not allow the proletariat to "speak out" condemning them. He said, "The minority must also be allowed to speak out, because it represents certain social forces." This was turning black into white. A class analysis must be made both of the "majority' and the "minority." Staunch Left and stubborn Rightists are both in the minority. But whereas the Rightists are a very small minority, the Left can become the majority by winning over and uniting with-the people in the middle. Chou Yang savagely opposed the proletarian Left "minority"? while helping the smaller "minority" of bourgeois Rightists in their attempt to seize power. He clearly wanted the latter to exercise dictatorship over the revolutionary people.

In the early spring of 1959, to carry out his reactionary programme for inciting monsters and demons to "speak out." Chou Yang proposed to Chou Hsin-fang that he put on the opera *Hai Jui Appeals to the Emperor*,[30] providing him with specific material. He told Chou Hsin-fang: Nowadays "we must put on operas of this kind because everyone is afraid to speak out." In this secret discussion between these two anti-Party elements, "a minority" had become "everyone." But "everyone" here meant the very small number of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists whom they represented. Chou Yang wanted *Hai Jui Appeals*

[30] Hai Jui (1514–87) was a Ming Dynasty official, With a view to consolidating the dictatorship of the feudal landlord class over the peasantry so that their interests could be safeguarded, he wrote a memorial on "Maintaining Order" to the Emperor Shih Tsung, criticizing the emperor's superstitious belief in Taoism and his negligence in affairs of state. He was sent to prison for his offence.

to the Emperor to embolden the Right opportunists and all monsters and demons. In 1959 he advocated "Hai Jui's spirit" far and wide, urging the cadres and actors of the provincial companies who came to Peking to "choose Hai Jui and Pao Kung"[31] as the chief characters for "operas on historical themes to be written today." Did not Wu Han state that writing anti-Party operas on Hai Jui should be done in "a planned way throughout the whole country?" It was Chou Yang who directed this "plan."

At the forum on creative work in literature and art in February 1959, Chou Yang wildly attacked the great leap forward and paid fulsome praise to the "international standard" set by the reactionary art of modern revisionism. He lashed out at our Party: "After producing ten million tons of steel, they think themselves so wonderful that they even look down on the Soviet Union." It was China's 700 million great people who kept in mind the revolutionary storms of the five continents and their class brothers throughout the world that they dared look down on all reactionaries, including the U.S. imperialists and modern revisionists, dared wage a tit-for-tat struggle against all monster's, dared scorn, outdo and defeat them. Since Chou Yang had eyes for nothing but the small gangs of contemptible revisionists, he naturally yapped like a mad dog at the fearless Chinese people. He also accused our Party of "violating internationalism." This shows that to him internationalism meant treating the revisionists as our "paternal Party," tagging after the Soviet modern revisionists and following in their steps. This bourgeois servility is diametrically opposed to proletarian internationalism.

At the Second Festival of Literature and Art of the Chinese People's Liberation Army held in June and July that year, Chou Yang made a speech to a meeting of cadres, in which he harped on exactly the same note as the counter-revolutionary line put forward not long

[31] Pao Kung, whose real name was Pao Cheng (999-1062), was an official of the Northern Sung Dynasty. The feudal ruling class glorified him as an "honest" official in order to deceive the people, conceal class contradictions, obliterate class distinction and thus weaken the will to fight of the oppressed and exploited classes. In reality, he was an out-and-out loyal apologist for the feudal ruling class.

afterwards by the Right Opportunists at the Lushan Meeting. He vilified our praise of the great leap forward as "whitewashing," which he claimed "took advantage of the enthusiasm of the masses." He attacked the mass movement and compared our singing of revolutionary songs to "the singing of an old woman which no one wants to hear." He sneered that the working people were not up to writing poetry because "you need inspiration to write poetry." He said that "middle-school students are children of twelve or thirteen" and not qualified to take an interest in politics; thus, requiring them to study politics was "a vulgarization of the policy that education should serve politics': At the mention of the great leap forward or mass movements, including the mass movement for workers, peasants and soldiers to master culture, Chou Yang started ranting and raving, subjecting them to the most scornful attacks. This hatred of socialism and the revolutionary masses stemmed from his bourgeois class nature. People like him who take an antagonistic attitude to mass movements, no matter how high their positions, are bound to batter their heads against a stone wall. Hard facts have refuted Chou Yang. Today, not only is the whole country from old women down to youngsters singing revolutionary songs, but primary-school children as well as middle-school students of twelve or thirteen are plunging with unprecedented enthusiasm into the great proletarian cultural revolution and launching a full-scale attack on the bourgeoisie!

In this report Chou Yang also demanded wildly: What "scientific works" of our own have we had "in the last ten years"? He tried with one stroke to wipe out the great development of Mao Zedong's thought in various fields in the decade after liberation. Truly, this is "like mayflies trying to topple the giant tree, ridiculously over-rating themselves." Listen Chou Yang, bow your head and listen: During the ten years from 1949 to 1959, the Central Committee of the Communist Party published the brilliant *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, which has become the compass for the people of China and the whole world in making revolution. Is this not to be counted as a scientific work? In those ten years Comrade Mao Zedong wrote "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," "On the Correct Handling of

Contradictions Among the People," "Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work," "On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation" and "On the Ten Main Relationships" great epoch-making Marxist-Leninist works covering the fields of politics, military affairs, philosophy, culture, economics and Party building, which further inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and brought it to a higher and completely new stage. Are these not to be counted as scientific works? In those ten years, Comrade Mao Zedong himself led all the great struggles on the ideological front and wrote such famous articles as "Give Serious Attention to the Discussion of the Film The Life of Wu Hsun" and "The Bourgeois Orientation of the Wenhui Bao Should Be Repudiated," including important instructions directly repudiating you, Chou Yang, as mentioned earlier in this article. Are these not to be counted as scientific works? Are not your counter-revolutionary features very clear?

When we go to the root of the matter what Chou Yang meant by scientific works were the foul, wordy hodgepodges, pretentious tomes and textbooks of modern revisionism, which are simply empty talk, "sharp-tongued, thick-skinned and hollow inside." He and his company admired only the Western bodhisattva of revisionism, and rabidly opposed the invincible proletarian revolutionary science of Mao Zedong's thought, the living philosophy and living science of the broad masses who have mastered Mao Zedong's thought. This fully exposes the essence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist crimes of the gang formerly in charge of the Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, These crimes must be denounced by the whole Party and punished by the whole people.

In 1961 and 1962, the attack on socialism by the capitalist and feudal forces within the country reached a high tide. The modern revisionists, in collaboration with U.S. imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries, intensified their blockade, encirclement, slander, infiltration and subversion against China and the Chinese Communist Party. A host of monsters and ghosts emerged, and for a time the adverse current of revisionism was running wild. Chou Yang

not only actively organized monsters and demons in literary and art circles to build up public opinion for the plot of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique to usurp leadership of the Party, the army and the government, but came out himself in a great frenzy to spearhead the attack. He convened many successive conferences in various fields of work, and launched revisionist programmes, one after another. He went all over the country to call meetings in Shanghai, Chang-chun, Hangchow, Talien, Foochow and Amoy. He made reports all over the place to add fuel to the flames, inciting and instigating monsters and demons to rise up and seize power, to reverse previous correct verdicts made on them, to oppose Chairman Mao and Mao Zedong's thought. Virtually all the counter-revolutionary revisionists in literary and art circles obtained their travelling permits from Chou Yang and acted in accordance with his signals. All reactionary classes approaching ruin are so blinded by self-interest that they expose their true features completely to the revolutionary people, and the masses rise up to destroy them. The following are merely a few striking examples:

Chou Yang frenziedly opposed and reviled Mao Zedong's thought. He has consistently done so, but hitherto he had invariably camouflaged his acts with counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics. After 1961, judging that the situation was in his favour and that the plot for bourgeois restoration was going to succeed, he flung off his disguise, came out into the open and burst out in vituperation.

In February 1961, Chou Yang hurried off to Shanghai and at a discussion meeting ranted that some plays used the phrase "thanks to Chairman Mao" outright, "not just once but even three or four times." Thanks to Chairman Mao, thanks to the Communist Party, always follow Chairman Mao and the Party—this is spoken from the hearts of hundreds of millions of Chinese working people, and is a matter of the first importance that none of the working people liberated from the oppression of the exploiting classes can ever forget. Why did it arouse such deep hatred in Chou Yang? This fully reflects his counter-revolutionary class nature.

In March 1961, Chou Yang, while in Fukien Province, vilified Mao Zedong's thought. He said: "Mao Zedong's thought is a red thread, but laid on too thick it ceases to be a red thread and turns into a piece of red cloth. Politics is the soul, but the soul is different from the body... The soul takes up no space and is intangible." In comparing Mao Zedong's thought to a thread which "takes up no space and is intangible." Chou Yang obviously intended to expel Mao Zedong's thought from all spheres and to put revisionist and capitalist ideology in command. He repeated these utterly vicious statements time and again, wherever he went.

At the forum on literary and art work held in June of that year, Chou Yang warned that "radio and television should not always be propagating support for Chairman Mao." This was the criminal contention of the "court of the Demon King"—the former Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee. This again fully revealed his true counter-revolutionary colours. Since you oppose propagating support for Chairman Mao, whom do you propose supporting? You want to "support" back to power a handful of anti-Party elements who have been repudiated by the Party and all the people, so as to bring about a counter-revolutionary restoration. This scheme of yours can only result in ignominious failure.

In July 1962, Chou Yang went to northeast China and opposed "talking of Chairman Mao every day." But we do want to talk of Chairman Mao every day, read his works every day, review his instructions every day and study his thought every day. When we "talk of Chairman Mao every day," there will be no room for monsters and demons to manoeuvre. As soon as they appear they will be discovered; as soon as they act they will be caught.

Chou Yang is a counter-revolutionary revisionist with an inveterate hatred for Mao Zedong's thought. All his fine talk was a fraud. Do not the facts cited above show what a reactionary he really is?

Chou Yang tried desperately to reverse the verdicts passed on monsters and demons and to launch vengeful counter-attacks

against the revolutionary people. He incited and organized overthrown counter-revolutionaries and bourgeois "authorities" of all descriptions to attack the Party.

On March 19, 1961, the counter-revolutionary "Three-Family Village"[32] gang began to bring out a series of articles under the general heading *Evening Chats at Yenshan*.[33] Just a week later, on March 26, the *Wenyi Bao* followed this up with a monograph entitled "The Problem of Subject-matter." This out-and-out counter-revolutionary revisionist programme for literature and art was written on the instructions and at the direction of Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han, who polished it carefully. This article put forward the demagogic slogan: "Use every means to open wide the cultural road." What "cultural road" did they want to open wide?

There is no abstract "cultural road." There is only the life-and-death struggle between the two roads of socialism and capitalism. To open the cultural road for socialist literature and art, one must block the road for reactionary capitalist literature and art. To open the road for reactionary capitalist and feudal literature and art, one must block the road for socialist literature and art. They alleged that "opening wide the cultural road" was intended to "prevent any person with aspirations or ability from being pushed aside or suppressed." This reveals that they actually intended to "use every means" to reverse the

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[32] "Three-Family Village" was an anti-Party clique formed by the three counter-revolutionary revisionists Teng To, Wu Han and Liao Mo-sha. They published articles under the general heading of Notes from Three-Family Village in the Qianzian (Frontline), a magazine under their control published by the former Peking Municipal Party Committee. They attacked the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, the thought of Mao Zedong and the socialist system in their writings and engaged persistently in vicious anti-Party activities.

[33] The book *Evening Chats at Yenshan*, a big poisonous weed opposing the Party, socialism and the thought of Mao Zedong, was written by Teng To, a counter-revolutionary revisionist, under the pseudonym Ma Nan-tsun. The book is a collection of essays written supposedly on random thoughts and using an obscure and yet extremely malicious language. It attacks by innuendo the Party and Chairman Mao, the three Red Flags and the socialist system and spreads a great deal of feudal, capitalist and revisionist poison in order to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism.

verdicts passed on those counter-revolutionaries who had been "pushed aside and suppressed" under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that monsters and demons with counter-revolutionary "aspirations" might use the press, literature and art to put out as much counter-revolutionary propaganda as they pleased. Clearly, a counter-revolutionary restoration may take the "military road" or the "cultural road." We must "use every means" to smash their dream of staging a come-back by the cultural road, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

At "forums" of every kind, Chou Yang repeatedly tried to reverse the verdict on these "people with aspirations" who had been "suppressed," frenziedly inciting them to attack the Party.

He crazily sang the praises of the bourgeois Rightists. He said that among the Rightists there were "some very intelligent people" who were very "valuable" and that those young people who opposed Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's thought were "learned" and "must be trained with care." Taking advantage of his position and power, he tried in every possible way to prop up notoriously vicious and decadent counter-revolutionaries and Rightists, looked on them as "treasures," pulled them into organizations under his control, gave them high positions and handsome salaries, and lavished every care upon them. Even that former traitor and utter scoundrel Chou Tso-jen was granted by Chou Yang a monthly salary of several hundred yuan, helping him to suck the blood of the working people. On the other hand, Chou Yang, Lin Mo-han and company had an inveterate hatred for the proletarian Left and the young people who assiduously study Mao Zedong's thought, denouncing them as having "naive minds, naive feelings and naive tastes," because in their eyes the "intelligent people" were the bourgeois Rightists opposed to Mao Zedong's thought and opposed to socialism!

Chou Yang did his best to echo Hu Feng's counter-revolutionary statements and to reverse the verdict passed on Hu Feng. All this reveals that his stand was the same as Hu Feng's. He said: "Hu Feng declares that literary and art circles in China have been dominated for twenty years by mechanicalism... If we do not make a

good job of carrying out the policy of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend', we shall have nothing but bishops robed in red, nuns and monks with ossified ideas, who cannot open their mouths without citing Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's thought. It would be thoroughly exasperating. I have always remembered this statement of Hu Feng's." (June 16, 1961.) What vicious talk! Hu Feng was the criminal ringleader of a counter-revolutionary clique, yet Chou Yang treated his words as the "family behests" of an ancestor which he "always bears in mind" because he fully shared Hu Feng's inveterate hatred of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong's thought. When he spoke of people who "cannot open their mouths without citing Mao Zedong's thought." he was thinking of the criticism made by Comrade Mao Zedong in "Reform Our Study" of those who persisted in Wang Ming's line, who "cannot open their mouths without citing ancient Greece."[34] These people included Chou Yang, in whom this criticism had rankled ever since, so that now he broke out in abuse. He felt "thoroughly exasperated" at people who "cannot open their mouths without citing Mao Zedong's thought" because he was a bourgeois, a comprador, who could not open his mouth to his own satisfaction without citing foreigners, without quoting Belinsky, Chernyshevsky and Dubrolyubov. Chou Yang praised Hu Feng's theory of the "sores of mental enslavement." calling on writers to act upon Hu Feng's counter-revolutionary theory and write about the "backwardness, superstition, prejudices, suspiciousness and so forth" of the working people, thus defaming and insulting them. His "criticism" of Hu Feng was an out-and-out fraud to hoodwink people. It makes us seethe with anger and want to vomit, the way he parroted Hu Feng's utterly venomous phrases about "bishops robed in red, nuns and monks" and their "ossified ideas." His use of these scurrilous expressions to vilify the proletarian Left, the workers, peasants and soldiers who study Mao Zedong's thought, exposes him clearly as a black-hearted revisionist. In fact, the label a "bishop robed in red" suits Chou Yang himself. Was he not

[34] Mao Zedong, "Reform Our Study," *Selected Works*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. Til, p. 19.

masquerading in a red robe while waving a black flag and taking command over the cultural front?

In June 1961, Chou Yang again declared, "We must foster the spirit of Hai Jui in appealing to the emperor." This was after the performance of Hai Jui Dismissed from Office,[35] when the "brothers" of "Three-Family Village" had "broken out" and were attacking again to "recoup their losses." On the directions of Chou Yang and Chi Yenming, the former secretary of the leading Party members' group in the Ministry of Culture, there appeared a host of poisonous weeds like Hsieh Yao-huan[36] and Li Huiniang.[37] Chou Yang time and again preached "the spirit of Hai Jui" in the hope of organizing a big offensive against the Central Committee of the Party and of reversing the verdicts passed on the Rightist opportunists. In 1962, again, those in charge of the former Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee proposed learning from Wei Cheng.[38] What with "the spirit

[35] *Hai Jui Dismissed From Office* is a reactionary historical play written by Wu Han, a counter-revolutionary revisionist. Through the mouths of the ancients it tries to voice the grievances" of the Right opportunists who have been "dismissed from office" by the people. The real objective of the play is to call on these Right opportunists to rise to power again.

[36] Hsieh Yao-huan is a historical play written by Tien Han, an anti-Party element. It is an anti-Party, anti-socialist "poisonous weed" Hsieh Yao-huan, the leading character in the play, was a woman official under the Empress Wu Tse-tien of the Tang Dynasty (618-907). As the seizure of large areas of land by the nobles and powerful despots in the south was endangering the empress's rule, she was sent on a tour of inspection of the south with the aim of safeguarding the interests of the feudal ruling class. She was murdered by these same nobles and despots.

[37] Li Hui-niang, a *kunchu* opera, written by the anti-Party element Meng Chao, is another big anti-Party, anti-socialist poisonous weed. Li Hui-niang, the leading character in the opera, was a concubine of her murderer Chia Szu-tao, a treacherous prime minister during the last days of the Southern Sung Dynasty (1127–1279). The author painted the "spirit of revenge" of her ghost in glowing colours in an insidious attack on the socialist system and the dictatorship of the proletariat, implying that the anti-Party elements and the monsters and demons in society had been unjustly treated.

[38] Wei Cheng (580-643), a minister under the Tang Dynasty's emperor Li Shih-min, was noted in history for his "courage to speak out."

of Hai Jui" and "the spirit of Wei Cheng." they had found a common counter-revolutionary language.

Chou Yang also said, "First of all we must change the relationship between the rulers and the ruled, between those who reform others and those who are reformed." This bluntly expressed Chou Yang's aim, which was to change the dictatorship of the proletariat so that those who were ruled—counter-revolutionaries, Hu Feng elements, Hai Jui, Wei Cheng and so forth—could become rulers and flock on to the stage to establish their ruthless dictatorship and suppress the revolutionary people.

Chou Yang advocated bourgeois "liberalization" everywhere, hoping to turn every association, every troupe and organization in literary and art circles into a Petofi Club. The core of "Some Suggestions on the Present Work in Literature and Art" (draft), the so-called "Ten Points on Literature and Art" released in July 1961 and revised and published on August 1 by Chou Yang and company, was aimed at overthrowing Mao Zedong's line on literature and art and the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao in the field of literature and art to carry out bourgeois liberalization.

The "Ten Points on Literature and Art" stated that as regards the "question of how to make literature and art serve politics" there was "narrow, one-sided and incorrect understanding." This was an exact replica of Chou Yang's sinister words. The "narrow understanding" so hated by Chou Yang was the concept that literature and art should actively serve the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and that they should be regarded as an ideological weapon of the proletarian revolution. The "broadness" he advocated time and again in the "Ten Points on Literature and Art" meant "there should be no restriction on subjects," or "we should help people see the diversity of the world, the laws of history and the complex nature of life," as was argued in the article "The Problem of Subject-matter" in the *Wenyi Bao*.

"There should be no restrictions" was a counter-revolutionary slogan of the Petofi Club. Everything is restricted by specific conditions; there is nothing in the world that is unrestricted. The question is whether these restrictions are revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, progressive or reactionary. If proletarian literature and art are to serve proletarian politics, they have to be restricted by proletarian politics. Politics should be in command of literature and art and the question of subject-matter should naturally be considered from the point of view of the political interests of the proletariat. Without this kind of restriction, they would be restricted by the politics of the bourgeoisie and turn into bourgeois literature and art. Indeed, the restrictions imposed by bourgeois counter-revolutionary politics at this time resulted in the emergence of a conglomeration of poisonous works "using the past to satirize the present" and "venerating what was foreign but despising what was Chinese," as well as anti-socialist films, operas and novels "discarding the classics and rebelling against orthodoxy." and "on middle characters." We must expose the bourgeois idealist lies on the question of "restrictions" to help people see clearly that Chou Yang's advocacy of "no restrictions" meant in actual fact that literature and art should not be restricted by the six political criteria formulated by Chairman Mao and by serving the workers, peasants and soldiers. It meant that emperors, princes, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties and' every kind of monster should dominate literary and art circles to carry out a counter-revolutionary restoration.

The "diversity of the world" meant, in fact, just one thing: that was to glamorize and praise the "diversity" of the ugly features of the decadent landlord and bourgeois elements and their intellectuals. To Chou Yang, the creation of proletarian heroes and the praising of the infinitely magnificent life of the workers, peasants and soldiers were "narrow" and "monotonous." On the other hand, devoting great efforts to writing about the rotten life of the bourgeoisie was "diversity" and "enjoyment of beauty." The "complex nature of life' was in fact very simple. It was none other than class reconciliation and class capitulation, exemplified by a Red Army soldier embracing a counter-

revolutionary White bandit, as presented in revisionist literature and art. It was none other than the dirty trick of glorifying traitors, lackeys, hooligans, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists as that shown in revisionist literature and art; and grotesque descriptions of the abnormal psychology and schizophrenia of the exploiting class admired in revisionist literature and art. In 1959, Khrushchov shamelessly lauded the "great significance" of Sholokhov's *A Man's Lot* by saying that he "described the complex and rich spiritual world of the ordinary citizen." The reason why Khrushchov's "yes-men" wanted us to write about the "complex nature of life' was surely to make us emulate the renegade literature of Sholokhov and his like.

Chou Yang made great efforts to sell the contraband goods of modern revisionism by raising the revisionist slogan of "literature and art of the whole people." The 22nd Congress of the CPSU which began in October 1961 proclaimed the "state of the whole people" and the "Party of the entire people" and thus nakedly exposed its treachery in replacing the proletarian dictatorship with the bourgeois dictatorship. Chou Yang responded rapidly. He took the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the publication of "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" in May 1962 to carry out a big plot, waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag. On the pretext of "writing articles" and "summing up experience," he brought together in Peking all the bourgeois "authorities" under him to launch a flood of opposition to Mao Zedong's line on literature and art. Led by Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han, they lived like lords while plotting all day long how to strike at the Left and oppose the Party, socialism and Chairman Mao, conducting many foul intrigues. In the end they produced "On Unifying, Tempering and Elevating Our Literary and Art Contingents" (a *Wenyi Bao* editorial), "Twenty Militant, Victorious Years' by Ho Chi-fang, "Some Questions Concerning Characterization" by Chen Huang-mei, and "Soliloquy on the Question of Originality in Films" by Chu Pai-yin... These big poisonous weeds and many others opposed Mao Zedong's thought and viciously and comprehensively distorted and attacked Mao Zedong's line on literature and art. Chou

Yang was himself responsible for an editorial in the *Renmin Ribao*. He devoted one meeting on March 15 to giving detailed instructions as to what this editorial should say and setting its tone. Later he revised the draft very carefully. It was published under the title "Serve the Broadest Mass of the People." Its central point was substituting Khrushchov's "literature and art of the whole people" for proletarian literature and art, and using the concept of serving "the whole people" to replace Mao Zedong's orientation for literature and art—that of serving the workers, peasants and soldiers.

"Literature and art of the whole people" was Chou Yang's revisionist line all along. He repeatedly put forward such revisionist slogans as "literature and art of the whole people" and "culture of the whole people." After the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, when he felt he had the backing of his foreign boss and the approval of the chief of the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique, he transformed this slogan into an anti-Party, anti-socialist programme and foisted it off on the entire Party in the form of a *Renmin Ribao* editorial.

This editorial said: "The entire people, within the people's democratic united front with the workers, peasants and soldiers as the mainstay, should be the audience for our literature and art and the audience for which we work." This was an utterly vicious alteration of Mao Zedong's thought. In the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out very clearly that our literature and art are "in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use."[39] He also spoke of "the problem of audience, i.e. the people for whom our works of literature and art are produced,"[40] saying that in the base areas "the audience for works of literature and art consists of workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary cadres."[41] To serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and take them as the audience has always been the basic orientation

[39] Mao Zedong, "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art," *Selected Works*, FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 84.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 71.
[41] *Ibid*.

and class line of proletarian literature and art over the last twenty years, the fundamental condition determining the class nature of our literature and art. This is even more valid in the present period of socialist revolution. Chou Yang tried to use the "united front" to change secretly the orientation of literature and art for workers, peasants and soldiers by insisting on making the bourgeoisie the audience for our literature and art. His purpose was to change the class nature of proletarian literature and art and turn them into a counter-revolutionary tool in the hands of the bourgeoisie. By taking the bourgeoisie and other targets of our revolution as the "audience for which we work." Chou Yang wanted us to glorify the bourgeoisie instead of criticizing it, and he used this revisionist line of "literature and art of the whole people" to oppose Mao Zedong's line on literature and art, thus "opening wide the cultural road" in the interests of the come-back of the bourgeoisie.

The editorial also raised the slogan: "Strengthen the ties of writers and artists with the masses." This is a revisionist slogan taken over sum and substance from Khrushchov, who once made a report entitled "Literature and Art Must Maintain Close Links with the Life of the People." The "programme" for phoney communism adopted at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU wrote in line with his report: "The main road of literature and art lies in the strengthening of links with the life of the people." The Soviet revisionists admire and ardently advocate the slogan "links with the life of the people" because this means the abandonment of revolution and the glorification of counter-revolution. First, it places writers and artists in the position of high and mighty aristocrats and overlords; it calls only for "links" with "the people" and is entirely against their integration with the workers, peasants and soldiers. Second, by the "people" Khrushchov meant precisely the "whole people', precisely the bourgeoisie and the high-salaried stratum. "Close links with the people" means close links with the bourgeoisie and the high-salaried stratum and service to the bourgeoisie. Third, this slogan eliminates the ideological remoulding of writers and artists so that bourgeois writers can retain their bourgeois world outlook intact and boldly write their anti-socialist

reactionary works. And fourth, Petofi Clubs may also become a form of "strengthening of links with the life of the people." thus legitimizing counter-revolutionary organizations and counter-revolutionary activities. Chou Yang's purpose in taking over the slogan regarded by modern revisionism as the "main line" of the literature and art was to negate Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions that writers and artists "must for a long period of time unreservedly and whole-heartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle." His aim was to enable the revisionist line to dominate literary and art circles in China more completely.

Enough. This man had a mania for making reports. It is impossible to quote all the counter-revolutionary statements in the endless long and short reports made by Chou Yang during the last few years. From the facts already adduced, his true features are adequately evident. In this great storm of attack by the bourgeoisie upon the proletariat, the double-dealer Chou Yang completely exposed his true counter-revolutionary colours. But "a thing turns into its opposite if it goes too far', The complete exposure of a counter-revolutionary in his full arrogance only serves to provide a lethal weapon for the revolutionaries' counter-attack. It was in this way that Chou Yang and company prepared their own downfall.

SMASH THE STUBBORN RESISTANCE OF THE BLACK LINE AND CARRY THE GREAT PROLETARIAN CULTURAL REVOLUTION THROUGH TO THE END

Up to the very eve of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party in September 1962, Chou Yang continued to take an active part in conspiratorial activities against Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. In collusion with a handful of anti-Party careerists, he actively supported and encouraged the publication of the anti-Party novel Liu Chih-tan, which was aimed at reversing the decision on the anti-Party element Kao Kang. Chou Yang personally received the anti-Party author of this novel and gave it his final

clearance, praising it as "a model," "setting a good example." They attempted to use this novel to whitewash Kao Kang's anti-Party crimes, distort Party history and negate the correct verdict of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao on the Kao Kang—Jao Shu-shih anti-Party alliance.

Their anti-Party scheme was soon seen through by the Central Committee and Chairman Mao. At the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, which was one of great historic significance, Comrade Mao Zedong once again emphasized the theory of contradiction, classes and class struggle in a socialist society and directly criticized Chou Yang and company.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that it was a great invention to use novels to carry out anti-Party activities. To overthrow a political power, it was always necessary first of all to build up public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class.

Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party once again seriously criticized Chou Yang and company and patiently gave them another chance. But again Chou Yang adopted counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics to resist Comrade Mao Zedong's directive. After the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee, he made use of his position and power and relied on the support of the anti-Party careerists who had wormed their way up to important posts in the Party, government and army to suppress the counter-attack from the Left, and once again did his utmost by means of double-dealing tricks to preserve the forces of the anti-Party, anti-socialist black line in order to continue to fight the proletariat. From then on, one life-and-death battle after another took place on the broad ideological front.

1. No sooner was the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party over than Chou Yang, trying to cover up his anti-Party crimes, hastily "reported back" to those participating in the forum on literary and art work on October 19, 1962. While posing as Left "who cannot claim to have made very full mental preparation,"

he distorted the spirit of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee by saying that "the basic situation is good" in literary and art circles and that "not many anti-Party, anti-Marxist works have been published" in an attempt to pass many big poisonous weeds off as fragrant flowers and benumb the revolutionary people. Moreover, he said, "going to the other extreme should also be avoided," implying that people should refrain from criticizing the bourgeoisie and from eliminating poisonous weeds. As the proletariat was about to counter-attack, he resolved to resist to the end.

2. Immediately after, a "forum on Confucius," approved, directed and plotted by Chou Yang, was held in Shantung in November 1962. This was Chou Yang's counter-attack on the revolutionary spirit of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee, a counter-attack in collusion with a horde of monsters and demons. At this sinister forum the bourgeois Rightists recklessness went to the furthest extreme and, for the first time since liberation, staged the ludicrous farce of bowing in worship to their feudal ancestors.

3. On New Year's Day 1963, in accordance with the spirit of the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong's directive, Comrade Ko Ching-shih proposed to the Shanghai literary and art workers that they should "write about the past thirteen years," in the hope that writers and artists would make every effort to reflect the reality of the socialist revolution and construction during this period and extol the heroic figures of workers, peasants and soldiers. This revolutionary proposal was at once resisted and attacked by the revisionist clique in literary and art circles headed by Chou Yang. At the meeting on literature and art convened by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in April 1963, Chou Yang organized Lin Mo-han, Shao Chuan-lin and a handful of others in group discussions as well as in general meetings to make a concerted attack on the slogan "write about the past thirteen years." Chou Yang entered the lists himself at this meeting and also at the enlarged meeting of council members of the

All-China Federation of Literary and Art Circles held on April 27, when he pontificated, “No matter what themes you write on, they can all reflect the spirit of the time... You must not think that writing about the present alone is of prime importance.” Yet when Chou Yang delivered a speech to the young spare-time writers at the end of 1965, he solemnly made the criticism that “three years ago” when “writing about the past thirteen years’ was proposed, “some comrades said they could not accept this proposal.” This was to make it seem that he had been an activist at that time. What out-and-out hypocrisy! How could this lying braggart be so shameless?

4. During the first half of 1963, Comrade Mao Zedong sharply criticized “plays about ghosts” and the depicting of “emperors and ministers, scholars and beauties.” He sternly pointed out that the Ministry of Culture under the leadership of Chou Yang, Chi Yen-ming, Hsia Yen and Lin Mo-han was a ministry of “emperors and ministers, scholars and beauties.” But in his talks on the work in the theatre in August and October that year, Chou Yang insisted that “advocating plays about ghosts is not necessarily a reflection of bourgeois ideology,” trying by might and by main to resist Chairman Mao’s criticism. In addition, basing himself on the absurd arguments of the anti-Party careerists under whose wing he took shelter, Chou Yang advocated “a division of labour,” declaring that “Peking opera, in particular, is suited to depicting emperors and ministers.” In this way he concocted theoretical grounds for opposing plays on contemporary revolutionary themes. Moreover, Chou Yang even bragged that “much had been achieved” in the reform of the dramatic arts. This was a vain attempt to cover up the criminal fact that “emperors and ministers, scholars and beauties” dominated the stage.

5. In September 1963, Chou Yang called a conference of leading personnel of the institutes under the Department of Philosophy and Social Science of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, and of various newspapers and publications. He took the lead in launching a concerted attack on the revolutionary article “A Comment on the

'Autobiography of Li Hsiu-cheng'"[42] by Comrade Chi Pen-yu. Chou Yang bellowed at the conference: "Li Hsiu-cheng was a national hero. It is completely wrong to call him a renegade." He directed Teng To, Chien Po-tsan and that crew to refute Chi Pen-yu. Chairman Mao discovered this plot in good time and put a stop to it.

6. In October 1963, Chou Yang made a report at an enlarged meeting of the Department of Philosophy and Social Science of the Academy of Sciences. In the third part of his report, devoted to the tasks at home, there was no mention at all of the serious, militant task on the current ideological front. On the contrary, he dwelt at length on "doing editing and research work in the historical heritage." Employing the double-talk of the clique in the former Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee, he made an all-out attack on "the oversimplified method of using labels indiscriminately." Here "labels" referred to the method of class analysis. At this meeting he discriminated against the Left forces but encouraged a large group of revisionists and bourgeois "authorities" to dominate the meeting. Thus Teng To was among those called upon to make reports on "anti-revisionism" in the history group. Was this a joke, getting Teng To to lead the "opposition to revisionism"? No, this was political trafficking. Since Chou Yang sought the backing of the counter-revolutionary careerists, he was bound to support the "Three-Family Village," which was under their control.

7. In December 1963, in view of the reactionary domination of literary and art circles by the anti-Party black line, Comrade Mao Zedong again sharply pointed out that problems abound in all forms of art such as the drama, ballads, music, the fine arts, the dance, the cinema,

[42] Li Hsiu-cheng (1823–64) was a commander of the peasant insurgent army towards the end of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, which fought against the rule of the Ching Dynasty. After his capture by the Ching troops in 1864, he surrendered to the enemy and turned a shameless traitor. During his imprisonment, he wrote his memories known as the "Autobiography of Li Hsiu-cheng." but actually it was a "confession" which betrayed the peasant revolutionary movement of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom,

poetry and literature and the people involved are numerous; in many departments very little has been achieved so far in socialist transformation. The "dead" still dominate in many departments. Comrade Mao Zedong said: Isn't it absurd that many Communists are enthusiastic about promoting feudal and capitalist art, but not socialist art? These were diametrically opposed to Chou Yang's line cited above that "much had been achieved" in the dramatic arts. They hit the nail on the head and laid bare Chou Yang's reactionary standpoint. But in a vain attempt to slip through, Chou Yang continued to argue. At a meeting in January 1964, he openly opposed Chairman Mao's instructions. He said: "The mistake committed by the Ministry of Culture is not necessarily a mistake of line... In the case of the majority of people, including the leadership of the literary and art departments and myself, it is a question of understanding." By using the word "including," he thought he could re-enact his counter-revolutionary double-dealing manoeuvre of saying a few words by way of self-criticism and transforming himself and his band into persons who were correct.

8. Since Chou Yang and company had time and again resisted the directives of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong in June 1964 once more very incisively criticized the revisionist leaders of literary and art circles and gave a sharp warning 'to Chou Yang and his band. This was the instructions mentioned in the first section of this article, the one that Chou Yang tampered with. Seeing that the situation was risky and that further resistance would spell doom, Chou Yang staged a "rectification movement" in the Ministry of Culture. This was a sham "rectification movement" aimed at fooling the masses, suppressing the Left forces, shielding the bad elements and covering himself. In a "report" which he made in November 1964, Chou Yang took advantage of the opportunity of "criticizing" Hsia Yen and others to boost himself by saying that since the Yenan Bonn on Literature and Art he had been working under the guidance of Chairman Mao." "My mistake was different from your errors of line," he said, adding that his mistake sprang from "lack of experience." This

means no criticism of Chou Yang was allowed while criticism of others should also be done under "leadership," that is, "everything must have" the "approval" of their counter-revolutionary revisionist "leadership." This was the stratagem used by the Imitation Foreign Devil in The True Story of Ah Q—revolution is forbidden.

9. In July 1964 a national festival of Peking operas on contemporary themes was held, to which Chairman Mao gave his personal attention. Chou Yang and his bosses behind the scenes, who had consistently opposed Peking opera on contemporary revolutionary themes, now simulated a sudden enthusiasm for it. Chou Yang again played the "summing up" role. Though he did his best to appear most revolutionary, his much revised speech still showed him up. He described Hsia Yen's talk with Hongkong reporters, which distorted the revolution of Peking opera, as "underestimating the Peking operas on contemporary themes." He also declared, "We don't mean that the whole of Hsieh Yao-huan is reactionary," in a desperate effort to absolve Tien Han of his counter-revolutionary crimes.

10. In response to the call of Chairman Mao, criticism and repudiation of the reactionary viewpoints of Yang Hsien-chen and Chou Ku-cheng and a number of bad films was launched at the beginning of 1965. Knowing full well that the deepening of this criticism and repudiation would threaten his counter-revolutionary rule, Chou Yang used every trick to quash them. He used his old counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics: on the one hand he pretended to be in favour of the criticism and repudiation; on the other hand he bided his time and as soon as he had the chance diverted the movement to the right. When the criticism reached a high tide at the end of February, Chou Yang and Lin Mo-han promptly called a meeting in Peking of the chief editors of some major newspapers and had a talk with them under the pretext of "making a summing-up." They violently condemned the articles recently published criticizing all kinds of poisonous weeds as "firing dud shells," "lacking in analysis," "dogmatic," "haphazard guesses," "exaggeration," and "simply pinning on labels" and

launched a frenzied counter-attack. They abused and ridiculed the reviews written by workers, peasants and soldiers as "over-simplified" and "unable to take the place of reviews by specialists' in order to suppress criticism by workers, peasants and soldiers. They declared: "In the criticism and repudiation of Hsia Yen, Tien Han and others, the past must be differentiated from the present and political from academic issues." They added: "These people have already stopped voicing some of their old views... so they should not be brought up again." These two claims constituted a counter-attack on the cultural revolution initiated by Comrade Mao Zedong. It was an attempt to force a halt to criticism of the bourgeoisie. This manoeuvre proved effective, and numerous articles criticizing and repudiating the bourgeoisie were then locked up in the "court of the Demon King."

11. In September 1965, imagining that the revolutionary masses had been silenced and that their own position was secure, Chou Yang and company moved to the third stage of their three-part intrigue and frantically launched a vengeful counter-attack against the Party. They called a national conference in Peking of all heads of cultural bureau and departments. Chou Yang and his bosses behind the scenes all attended this conference, at which they wildly slandered Comrade Mao Zedong. They invited Hsia Yen and Yang Han-sheng to the presidium where they sat as proud as peacocks, continuing to exercise their dictatorship over the proletariat. In his report, Chou Yang time and again consoled them, saying, "Don't let yourselves be obsessed by the fact that you've been criticized. It's inevitable that sometimes criticism is too harsh or too slight... There may be too little of it or too much." This was a hint that if it were "too much" or "too harsh." they could have the verdicts reversed. As long as he remained in power they would not be overthrown but some day could stage a come-back. He again described himself as merely "late in discovering and slow in rectifying" mistakes, saying that his was "a problem of understanding." He imagined that by doing so he could help this gang to slip through and continue to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat.

12. Finally, let us turn to the report Chou Yang made to the National Conference of Young Activists in Spare-Time Literary Writing on November 29, 1965. This took place nineteen days after the initiation of the criticism of the play *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*—a critical moment in the life-and-death struggle of the proletarian Left against the bourgeois Rightists. In an effort stubbornly to resist Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions on criticizing the representatives of the bourgeoisie, the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists in the former Peking Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the former Propaganda Department of the Party Central Committee and the former Ministry of Culture undertook a series of anti-Party, anti-socialist conspiratorial manoeuvres, desperately attacked the Left and shielded the Rightists in a vain attempt to stamp out the approaching flames of the great proletarian cultural revolution. At this crucial moment, Chou Yang fought every inch of the way in his resistance to Comrade Mao Zedong's thoroughly revolutionary instructions. In his report, he did not even mention the current tempestuous struggle, as if there had never been any criticism of *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office*. In January 1966 his report was published officially. That was more than a month after it had been made, and during this period the revolutionary people's struggle to criticize *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* had grown, while the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists were putting up a last-ditch fight. In the report published in the press Chou Yang flagrantly persisted in distorting Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions, showing his determination to resist to the bitter end.

See how obdurately they resisted the directives of the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong! How bitterly they hated the proletarian Left! Even when the flames of revolution threatened to burn them, they stubbornly refused to give ground. Instead they mobilized all the forces of their black line and black gang to counter-attack.

When we review the struggles in the field of literature and art since liberation, we can see clearly the sharp struggle between the two lines. One is the red line, Mao Zedong's line on literature and art. It is Comrade Mao Zedong who has personally led every major struggle, impelled the cultural revolution forward step by step and after long preparations started the present great proletarian cultural revolution, a stormy general offensive against the bourgeoisie in which hundreds of millions of people are taking part and which has smashed the old lair of Chou Yang and company. The other is a black line, the anti-Party, anti-socialist bourgeois line on literature and art, whose ringleader was Chou Yang. Behind him stood the counter-revolutionary clique which plotted to usurp the leadership of the Party, the army and the government and which has recently been crushed. And this black line included Hu Feng, Feng Hsueh-feng, Ting Ling, Ai Ching, Chin Chao-yang, Lin Mo-han, Tien Han, Hsia Yen, Yang Han-sheng, Chi Yen-ming, Chen Huang-mei, Shao Chuan-lin and the rest. Despite the quarrels between their different blocs and their efforts to oust each other, they had one thing in common: their bourgeois reactionary political stand opposing Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought, the masses, workers, peasants and soldiers, the Communist Party and socialism. Chou Yang, who "criticized" Hu Feng, quoted Hu Feng's; venomous statements precisely because the two of them took the same stand. By means of such underhand tactics as alternating attacks with friendly advances, offering high posts and other favours, recruiting renegades and singing one another's praises, Chou Yang and company enlisted a gang of traitors, counter-revolutionaries, Rightists and megalomaniacs, and ensconced them in various positions as their anti-Party, anti-socialist tools. They also tried by hook and by crook to poison the minds of young people so as to turn them into successors to the bourgeoisie and criminally pulled young writers into their anti-Party, anti-socialist gangster inn. This black line controlled cultural circles and all cultural associations. It also reached out its tentacles to every part of the country and used "membership" regulations and overlapping "associations and unions" to keep a group of bourgeois writers and to attack and oust workers, peasants and soldiers, thus

creating many "Petofi Clubs" large and small. This black line served the interests of restoration of capitalism. We must now smash all these "Petofi Clubs" and destroy the revisionist "court of the Demon King." We must take over, and take over thoroughly, the leadership of all literary and art organizations now in the hands of the bourgeoisie. We must smash to smithereens all corrupt bourgeois and feudal relationships.

Chou Yang was a self-styled Marxist theoretician. Usurping Party leadership in the field of culture and taking advantage of his position as a Party leader and academic overlord he posed as the Party's spokesman on literature and art. He kept blowing his own trumpet and browbeating others to create this false impression. Things develop by stages, and a process of observation is often required to understand a phenomenon and recognize its essence which, hidden at first, needs some time to be fully exposed. There is nothing strange about this. It has happened before and is likely to happen again. But once the true colours of these "big shots" opposed to Mao ae thought are revealed, when we look back at their careers we can detect the meagre essence of their huge imposture. Careful examination of Chou Yang's published writings and private talks shows that they abound in reactionary twaddle and are riddled with mistakes and obvious fallacies. As for Chou Yang's own "theories on literature and art," these are simply a hotchpotch copied piecemeal from foreign books. There is nothing in the least wonderful about them.

Chou Yang always boasted that he came from "the Liberated Area." In fact, while at Yenan he was a bird of the same feather as such Trotskyites, renegades and anti-Party writers as Wang Shih-wei, Ting Ling, Hsiao Chun and Ai Ching. Chou Yang is a member of the bourgeoisie who wormed his way into the revolutionary ranks, In the thirties he carried out Wang Ming's line and opposed the proletarian line on literature and art represented by Lu Hsun. Early in the forties, at Yenan, he went on stubbornly proclaiming, "In aesthetics, I am a faithful disciple of Chernyshevsky." (*Jeifang Ribao*, July 17, 1941.) He went to the revolutionary base, it is true, but he detested it. From

July 17 to 19 in 1941, the *Jiefang Ribao* published three of his anti-Party essays entitled "Chats on Literature and Life." These made the slanderous attack, "Yenan has its own circle, with its own patterns. Everybody wears the same uniform and draws pretty well the same pay... If you walk down the street, the people all around you are spouting the same old revolutionary terms. How deadly dull and monotonous this is!" He used the counter-revolutionary expressions of a bourgeois "opposition party" to attack Yenan as being "too narrow," "too dead," "an impossible place to fit into." He frantically blathered, "Yenan must on no account remain satisfied with the rut it is in, but must do its best to improve, to become broader and more comprehensive." (*Jiefang Ribao*, July 19, 1941.) And this was written in Yenan, where Chairman Mao was, the centre of the revolution sacred to all the people of China! This was exactly the same venomous line as that taken by Wang Shih-wei. As soon as Chou Yang reached a place in which the proletariat held power, his bourgeois nature made him burst out in bitter vituperation against the Party. "Comprehensive" meant the inclusion of monsters and demons. And sure enough these three anti-Party essays of Chou Van's prompted a batch of preposterous counter-revolutionary writings, including Wang Shih-wei's "Wild Lilies," Ting Ling's "Thoughts on Women's Day" and Ai Ching's "Understand and Respect Writers." Chou Yang's reactionary stand and views were sharply criticized by Comrade Mao Zedong in the "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art." But he always turned a deaf ear to Comrade Mao Zedong's criticism and would never integrate himself with the workers, peasants and soldiers. He refused despite repeated warnings, to change his reactionary bourgeois nature, and during the period of socialist revolution he went a step further and developed an out-and-out revisionist line.

Chou Yang is a counter-revolutionary double-dealer. It is largely owing to these: double-dealing tricks of his that he was able to fool people for so long. We must learn to recognize double-dealers of this type. Double-dealing is one of the tactics used in the struggle against us by class enemies who have wormed their way into the proletarian ranks. When the dictatorship of the proletariat is strong,

their only way to escape detection is by waving "red flags" to oppose the red flag. They say one thing in public, another in private, act one way to your face and another behind your back, and use Marxist phraseology to peddle their contraband revisionist wares. They retreat when circumstances are unpropitious and attack when the time seems ripe, making bogus self-criticisms to cover up before striking back with real offensives. They recruit renegades and gang up together in order to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieve their final aim, that of a restoration of capitalism. These are their whole set of tactics. To recognize double-dealers of this type we must look at their political stand at crucial junctures, especially at times when the bourgeoisie is launching frenzied attacks upon the proletariat. We must not be taken in by their specious writings which change to suit the prevailing political climate. A mass movement is needed to expose these double-dealers. Now the fierce flames of this great proletarian cultural revolution have reduced Chou Yang's camouflage to ashes, laying bare his ugly and contemptible soul.

Will all be well in literary and art circles now that Chou Yang's black line has been exposed? No. Exposure is not the same thing as uprooting, not to speak of eliminating his line's influence. After this black line is uprooted, others may appear, which we shall have to struggle against. All class struggles and political struggles are bound to be reflected in one form or another in literature and art. A long fight still lies ahead. True proletarian revolutionaries must set themselves new and ever greater fighting tasks as the situation develops, and on no account lower their vigilance or let their heads be turned by success in one encounter.

As Comrade Mao Zedong has said, the great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution which touches men to the depths of their souls. It reveals their basic political stand, the inmost recesses of their world outlook, the path each one has travelled and is going to travel, and the history of the entire Chinese revolution. This is the greatest revolutionary change ever undergone by mankind, one which will temper a whole generation of staunch Communists. The present situation is excellent, but there are twists and turns in the path of

struggle. We must be prepared for reversals, for ups and downs, and for all kinds of frauds. We may meet with counter-attacks or with soft-soap tactics from the forces of reaction. We must be ready to fight many more rounds. However, victory is. bound to go to the proletarian revolutionary Left armed with Mao Zedong's thought who know well how to learn and to unite the masses, and who will carry the revolution through to the end. "Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge"—only by faithfully acting on these instructions of Chairman Mao's and successfully summing up our experience can we ensure that our knowledge increases steadily with the development of objective processes; only so can we acquire the real ability to dare to make revolution and be adept at making revolution. The swirling tide of this great cultural revolution has washed away a few worthless survivors from the old world along with the various corrupt systems and mental fetters handed down by the exploiting classes. The Chinese people are uniting more closely than ever before under our great leader Comrade Mao Zedong. Holding high the great red banner of Mao Zedong's thought, they are taking revolutionary strides forward and jubilantly creating a new, communist world which will be red through and through.

THE WORKING CLASS MUST EXERCISE LEADERSHIP IN EVERYTHING (1968)

From *The Working Class Must Exercise Leadership in Everything* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1968)

A great high tide of struggle-criticism-transformation is coming. The publication of Chairman Mao's latest instructions and the entry of the mighty army of industrial workers, step by step under leadership, into schools and all other units where struggle-criticism-transformation has not been carried out well are signals of this coming high tide. This high tide follows in the wake of the work on a number of tasks, including the establishment of revolutionary committees in provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions, mass criticism and repudiation and the purifying of the class ranks. It will bring about profound changes in all fields, fiercely storm all those parts of the superstructure which do not conform to the socialist economic base, educate the masses, crush the hidden reaction, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution forward to all-round victory and greatly stimulate the development of the social productive forces.

The important task now confronting the revolutionary committees at all levels is to do without delay the work of struggle-criticism-transformation conscientiously and well. To accomplish this task, it is imperative to persist in leadership by the working class and to "bring into full play the leading role of the working class in the great cultural revolution and in all fields of work."

As early as one hundred and twenty years ago, i.e., during the mid-19th century when Marxism began to come into being, there had been put forth the slogan of replacing the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie by the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only the imperialists, the landlord class, the bourgeoisie and their agents—the revisionists, old and new—are opposed to this thoroughgoing revolutionary slogan. The Communist Party of China takes this slogan as its basic programme. In order to realize this slogan, it is essential to unite with the broad nonworker masses, mainly the peasant masses,

the urban petty bourgeoisie and those intellectuals who can be remoulded, and to lead them forward.

Throughout the entire process, the great proletarian cultural revolution has been under the sole leadership of one and only one class, the working class. Our Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. The proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao and with Vice-Chairman Lin Piao as its deputy leader represents in a concentrated way the interests of the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants and the masses of the working people; it is the only centre of leadership for the whole Party, the whole army, the whole nation and the masses of revolutionary people. Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and all his instructions reflect the pressing demands of the working class and the hundreds of millions of revolutionary people and embody the proletariat's firm and strong leadership of the whole great proletarian cultural revolution. It was the leadership of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao that made it possible to launch the great proletarian cultural revolution in which hundreds of millions of revolutionary people are taking part. To persist in working-class leadership it is essential, first and foremost, to ensure that every instruction from Chairman Mao, the great leader of the working class, and every order issued by the supreme command of the working class are carried out swiftly and smoothly. The theory of "many centres," that is, the theory of "no centre," mountain-stronghold mentality, sectarianism and other reactionary bourgeois trends undermining working-class leadership must be opposed. The revolutionary committees in all places are organs of power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. All units should accept leadership by the revolutionary committees. No "independent kingdom," big or small, which is counter-posed to Chairman Mao's proletarian headquarters, should be allowed to exist in our country. The old Peking Municipal Party Committee, this watertight and impenetrable "independent kingdom" which resisted Chairman Mao's instructions, was a means used by the gang of big conspirators, China's Khrushchov and company, to oppose working-class leadership and restore capitalism. This ''independent kingdom" has been completely

smashed by revolutionary storms. This historical lesson in class struggle should be borne in mind by all revolutionaries. The citizens of "independent kingdoms," big or small, under the control of bourgeois elements in various parts of the country should also study this lesson.

The workers' propaganda teams are entering the field of education. This is an earthshaking event. Schools were the monopoly of the exploiting classes and their children from ancient times. Conditions improved somewhat after liberation, but in the main the schools were still monopolized by bourgeois intellectuals. Some students from these schools have been able for various reasons to integrate themselves with, and serve, the workers, peasants and soldiers (generally speaking, because they themselves or their teachers are comparatively good or because of the influence of their families, relatives or friends, but chiefly of society at large). Some others have not. In a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, there exists a serious situation—the bourgeoisie contends with the proletariat for leadership. When the young Red Guard fighters rose in rebellion against the handful of capitalist roaders within the Party during the current great proletarian cultural revolution, the reactionary bourgeois forces in the schools for a while got hard blows. But shortly afterwards, certain people were again active in secret. They incited the masses to struggle against each other, and set themselves to sabotage the great cultural revolution, disrupt struggle-criticism-transformation, undermine the great alliance and the revolutionary "three-in-one'" combination and destroy the work of purifying the class ranks and of Party rectification. All this has aroused dissatisfaction among the masses. The facts show us that under such circumstances it is impossible for the students and intellectuals by themselves alone to fulfil the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation and a whole number of other tasks on the educational front; workers and People's Liberation Army fighters must take part, and it is essential to have strong leadership by the working class. Chairman Mao recently pointed out:

> In carrying out the proletarian revolution in education, it is essential to have working-class leadership; it is essential for the masses of workers to take part and, in co-operation with Liberation Army fighters, bring about a revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, together with the activists among the students, teachers and workers in the schools who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end. The workers' propaganda teams should stay permanently in the schools and take part in fulfilling all the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in the schools, and they will always lead the schools. In the countryside, the schools should be managed by the poor and lower-middle peasants—the most reliable ally of the working class.

This instruction of Chairman Mao's indicates the orientation and road for the educational revolution in the schools. It is a sharp weapon for thoroughly destroying the bourgeois educational system. The masses of young students should enthusiastically welcome the working class as it takes over the school position, participates in struggle-criticism-transformation and assumes permanent leadership of the schools.

The working class has rich practical experience in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. It shows the utmost enmity for all counter-revolutionary words and deeds opposed to socialism and Mao Zedong's thought. It most bitterly hates the old educational system which served the exploiting classes. It most strongly opposes the "civil war" activities of certain intellectuals in damaging state property and obstructing struggle-criticism-transformation. It thoroughly detests the habit of empty talk and the practice of double-dealing, where words and actions do not match. Therefore, when they combine with fighters of the Chinese People's Liberation Army—the main pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat—the masses of the working class will be most powerful in stemming all erroneous

tendencies contrary to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and most effective in resolving all kinds of problems which have been described as long-standing, big and difficult. Contradictions that the intellectuals have been quarrelling over without end and unable to resolve are quickly settled when the workers arrive. As regards the handful of villains who have been hiding behind the scenes and inciting the masses to struggle against each other, only when the workers and Liberation Army fighters step in is it possible completely to bare their counterrevolutionary features.

"The workers have only to look after their factories, that's enough." This is an anti-Marxist viewpoint. The working class understands that it can achieve its own final emancipation only by emancipating all mankind. Without carrying the proletarian revolution in education in the schools through to the end and without rooting out revisionism, the working class cannot achieve its final emancipation, and the danger still exists of capitalist restoration and of the working class being exploited and oppressed anew. It is the bounden duty of the politically conscious working class to take an active part in the great cultural revolution in all fields and to ensure that Mao Zedong's thought occupies every position in culture and education.

"Let us liberate ourselves. There is no need for the workers outside school to join in." What the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution states is that the method "is for the masses to liberate themselves." Are the workers not included in the "masses?" Is not the working class made of your own people? All genuine proletarian revolutionaries—not those who pay lip-service to deceive people—regard members of the working class as their own people and as the most advanced and the most politically conscious among the masses. The "three-in-one"' combination of workers, soldiers and the revolutionary activists in the schools is the most reliable. Guarantee for the masses to liberate themselves. Whoever looks on the workers as a force alien to himself is, if not muddle-headed, himself an element alien to the working class, and the working class has every reason to exercise dictatorship over him. Some intellectuals who styled

themselves "proletarian revolutionaries" oppose the workers whenever the working class touches on the interests of their tiny "independent kingdoms." There are still quite a few such people in China like Lord Sheh,[43] people who look down upon the workers and peasants, who are inclined to put on airs and think themselves great. As a matter of fact, they are just modern Lord Shehs. It is essential for the workers and People's Liberation Army fighters to go to those places where intellectuals are concentrated, be they schools or other units, to smash the complete domination by intellectuals, occupy the "independent kingdoms," big or small, and take over those places where the advocates of the theory of "many centres," that is, the theory of "no centre," are entrenched. In this way, the unhealthy atmosphere, style of work and thinking that exist among intellectuals concentrated in groups can be changed and thus there is the possibility for intellectuals to remould themselves and achieve emancipation.

"Workers don't understand education." These are the words of some so-called high-ranking intellectuals. None of your ugly, bourgeois intellectual airs! There are two kinds of education: bourgeois and proletarian. What you "understand" is the pseudo-knowledge of the bourgeoisie. Those who teach science and engineering do not know how to operate or repair machines; those who teach literature do not know how to write essays; those who teach agricultural chemistry do not know how to use fertilizer. Aren't such laughing-stocks to be found everywhere? The proletarian educational system characterized by the integration of theory with practice can be gradually brought into being only when the proletariat takes a direct part. This is utterly beyond people like you.

"The workers don't know the situation in the schools and the history of the struggle between the two lines there." Don't worry, comrades. The workers will get to know them. Compared with those

[43] As told by Liu Hsiang (77-6 B.C.) of the Han Dynasty in his Hsin Hsu, Lord Sheh was so fond of dragons that he adorned his whole palace with drawings and carvings of them. But when a real dragon heard of his infatuation and paid him a visit, he was frightened out of his wits. This betrayed Lord Sheh's fondness for dragons as a sham.—*Tr.*

short-sighted intellectuals who see only their small mountain-strongholds, the working class stands on a far higher eminence. The workers will not stay in the schools for just a few days; they will keep on working there permanently and always occupy and lead the schools. Everything that exists objectively can be understood. The working class will deepen its recognition of the world through its own revolutionary practice and remake the world in its own image.

Workers' propaganda teams should, step by step and in a planned way, go to universities, colleges, middle schools and primary schools, to all sectors of the superstructure and to all units in which struggle-criticism-transformation has not been carried out well. Taking Mao Zedong's thought as the guiding principle, they should unite with and help the activists there who are determined to carry the proletarian revolution in education through to the end, unite with the great majority of the masses including those intellectuals who can be remoulded and, in the proletarian spirit of thoroughgoing revolution, promote the struggle-criticism-transformation there. This is a great historical mission of the Chinese working class at the present time. In the course of fulfilling this mission, the working class will itself be profoundly steeled in the class struggle and a group of outstanding worker-cadres will emerge, not merely to manage schools but to reinforce every sector of the state organs and the revolutionary committees at all levels.

To fulfil this historical mission, the working class must earnestly and thoroughly study Mao Zedong's thought, learn the mass line and the style of investigation and study that Chairman Mao has always taught us, make ceaseless efforts to raise its political consciousness, heighten its revolutionary sense of discipline and constantly criticize and repudiate the corrosion and influence of rotten bourgeois ways within the working class. The bourgeoisie has a traditional influence in the cultural and educational institutions. When the working class sets about transforming the world according to the proletarian world outlook, that is, Mao Zedong's thought, the bourgeoisie invariably makes every effort to use the bourgeois world outlook to corrode the weak sections in the ranks of the workers,

including those of their leading cadres. The working class must maintain sharp vigilance against this. It must keep to the firm stand of the proletariat and maintain vigilance against attacks from sugar coated bullets or by other means against the ranks of the workers. In addition, it must conscientiously do a good job of purifying the class ranks, grasp revolution and promote production, and make a success of struggle-criticism-transformation in factories and other enterprises. Chairman Mao recently pointed out:

> The struggle-criticism-transformation in a factory, on the whole, goes through the following stages: establishing a revolutionary committee based on the "three-in-one" combination, mass criticism and repudiation, purifying the class ranks, rectifying the Party organization, simplifying organizational structure, changing irrational rules and regulations and sending people who work in offices to grass-roots levels.

These words of Chairman Mao's sum up the development of the mass movement during the stage of struggle-criticism-transformation, and clearly point out the road for us to fulfil the tasks of struggle-criticism-transformation in factories and other enterprises.

The first task is to establish the "three-in-one" revolutionary committee so that leadership in factories and other enterprises is truly in the hands of the proletariat. This is often carried out in combination with the tasks of mass criticism and repudiation and the purifying, by and large, of the class ranks.

Revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation enables people to wipe out the pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of China's Khrushchov and his agents in various places, enhances their consciousness of the struggle between the two lines, opens the way, both politically and ideologically, for purifying the class ranks, and, in the course of purifying the class ranks, plays a role in mobilizing the masses and consolidating the achievements in

the struggle. To purify the class ranks and deal sure, accurate and relentless blows at the handful of enemy agents, renegades, die-hard capitalist roaders and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists who have not reformed themselves, is an extremely important task for the working class in exercising the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, purifying its own ranks and weeding out class enemies who have wormed their way into the working class, and it provides mass criticism and repudiation with vivid living material, Mass criticism and repudiation and the purifying of the class ranks promote and give impetus to each other. They create the best conditions for rectifying the Party organization. After going through strict tests in class struggle politically, ideologically and organizationally, the masses of Party members greatly raise their political consciousness and greatly improve their relations with the masses; the very few bad elements are weeded out of the Party; how things stand with Party members both politically and organizationally is basically made clear; a number of activists emerging in the movement are admitted into the Party, thus infusing it with new blood; and a leading nucleus which resolutely implements Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is gradually formed. In this way, we can do a good job in rectifying the Party organization and can reach the great goal set by Chairman Mao for Party rectification:

> The Party organization should be composed of: the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy.

This applies to the movement in industrial and mining enterprises and, broadly speaking, also to the movement in cultural and educational institutions and in the Party and government organs.

An upsurge in revolution spurs an upsurge in production. Thanks to the efforts of the hundreds of millions of poor and lower-

middle peasants, agriculture in our country has produced bumper harvests for a number of years running. Only with a solid socialist position in the countryside has it been possible for the great proletarian cultural revolution to win victory after victory in the cities. We salute the poor and lower-middle peasants, the firm ally of the working class. With the deep-going development of struggle-criticism-transformation, many new things are coming forth on the industrial front as well. In the course of transformation, a vigorous technical revolution has come into being in many places. The situation is excellent and inspiring. The handful of class enemies who vainly attempted to stage a comeback have come to their end. At present, U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionism and all reaction throughout the world find the going very hard. They are bruised and battered, disintegrating and in an impasse. Under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, our great socialist motherland, steeled in the great proletarian cultural revolution, is resplendent and holds out unlimited prospects. We must strive to keep up with the developing situation, fully mobilize the masses, sum up experience promptly, do a good job of investigation and study, be good at seizing on good examples, work out over-all plans, strengthen the leadership and make earnest efforts to fight a good battle of struggle-criticism-transformation. This is a battle to win all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution. Let us follow Chairman Mao's great strategic plan closely and advance from victory to victory!

COMMENTS ON TAU CHU'S TWO BOOKS (1968)

From edition published by Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1968

Like a succession of gales, the great proletarian cultural revolution is shaking the whole of China and indeed the whole world.

The situation is excellent. After a year of stirring battles, the great proletarian cultural revolution which started with mass criticism and repudiation in the field of culture is now triumphantly entering the phase of a mass movement of criticism and repudiation of the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road. This campaign of mass criticism is of great political significance. It is a deepening development of the proletarian revolutionaries' struggle to seize power, an important step in the elimination of revisionist poison, an ideological force mobilizing the masses in their tens of millions for struggle, criticism and transformation, a mammoth mass struggle for the thorough application of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line in the fields of politics, economy, culture and military affairs.

The two books before us. *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life* (*Ideals* for short) published in 1962 by the China Youth Publishing House, and *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent* (*Thinking* for short) published in 1964 by the Kwangtung People's Publishing House, are both excellent negative study material for the mass criticism campaign. They are sister books of the sinister work on "self-cultivation" and vividly portray the reactionary and ugly soul of Tao Chu the revisionist.

Prior to the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Tao Chu was a faithful executant of the bourgeois reactionary line represented by China's Khrushchov. After that session, when the reactionary features of the two top persons in authority taking the capitalist road were exposed before the whole Party, he became the chief person representing and continuing to carry out the bourgeois reactionary line. In league with his henchmen such as Wang Jen-chung, the counter-revolutionary revisionist, he continued to frantically oppose and distort the

proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and to oppose and boycott the great thought of Mao Zedong, recruited deserters and turncoats, colluded with Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road and everywhere issued instructions to suppress the revolutionary masses and support and shield counter-revolutionary revisionists and ghosts and monsters, vainly trying by base tricks to blanket or negate the criticism and repudiation of the top capitalist roaders in the Party at the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

In the forward march of history, all who overestimate the strength of reaction and underestimate that of the people—addlepates dressed up as heroes and resisting progress—invariably end up quickly as contemptible clowns. At a 10,000-strong rally on July 30, 1966, this man who styled himself "a proletarian revolutionary in the main" waved his fist and haughtily shouted: "You can have me overthrown, too, if you don't believe me." How arrogant he was then! A virtual man-eater! He was trying to intimidate the masses, implying: Woe to anyone who dares oppose a "veteran revolutionary" like me; I am a hero and will never, never fall. But the logic of history is such that anyone who comes out in opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, the great proletarian cultural revolution and the revolutionary masses inevitably falls. The more rounded out a reactionary's performance, the heavier his fall. In retrospect, it is clear that the ludicrous performance he put on, glorifying himself and trying to intimidate the people, was just another silly layer of grease paint on this double-dealer's face.

"I have always been a revolutionary." Well, let's use these two books as our chief material and see whom this eternally revolutionary person always followed, what kind of revolution he was engaged in, and what "ideals" he really cherished, what "integrity" he advocated, what class "thinking and feeling" he publicized and what "spiritual life" he led.

Bourgeois Counter-Revolutionary Ideals

Which side does Tao Chu belong to? What ideals, the ideals of which side, does he advocate in his books? It will be enough to refer to the evidence he himself has provided.

In August 1955, when the socialist transformation of agriculture and handicraft industries began surging ahead and the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were locked in a life-and-death struggle, Tao Chu stepped forward histrionically: "All of us belong to the same side, the side of the Chinese people. With the exception of the counter-revolutionaries, all should sincerely unite."[44] This "all of us . . . with the exception of the counter-revolutionaries" is subject to the rule of one dividing into two — the proletariat on the one side and the bourgeoisie on the other. Tao Chu viciously slandered the ideological remoulding of intellectuals as "an insult to one's personality." He asserted that Hu Shih's reactionary ideas were simply "a question of method of thinking" which "can only be judged clearly . . . after 30 or 40 years."[45] It is obvious that his "all of us" actually referred to the bourgeoisie and its agents such as Hu Shih. His boastful remark about "the side of the Chinese people" who should "sincerely" embrace each other in reality referred to the bourgeois reactionaries opposed to the people.

In the same report, Tao Chu also used extremely sympathetic language to describe "the counter-revolutionaries now lying low on the mainland" as being "in a miserable plight and a painful frame of mind." Words reflect one's thinking. With the words "miserable" and "painful," Tao Chu at one stroke wrote off the hatefulness and brutality of the counter-revolutionaries and vividly portrayed a "spiritual life" in which he was in perfect harmony with them. When excerpts from this report were included in his book, these colourful and sympathetic expressions were deleted.

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[44] *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life* (in Chinese), China Youth Publishing House, Peking, 1962, p. 77.
[45] *Ibid*., pp. 61–63.

Two years later, in May 1957, when the Rightists were launching wild attacks, Tao Chu promptly wrote articles for the press, declaring that "by and large classes have now disappeared," "the contradictions within the country between the enemy and ourselves have been resolved," and "the function of dictatorship should be weakened" in the dictatorship of the proletariat, which should be "geared . . . to guiding production . . . and to organizing the people's economic life."[46] The landlords, rich peasants and bourgeoisie all became members of one "big family," the dictatorship of the proletariat could be abolished and "a state of the whole people" with the sole task of "guiding production" could soon come into being. The out-and-out revisionist note he struck, which was directed at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat, shows him up as a ringleader of the bourgeois Rightists.

After another two years, in the first half of 1959, when the socialist revolution was developing in greater depth , Tao Chu wrote his article, "The Character of the Pine," in which he advised "never yielding to adverse circumstances,"[47] and another article, "Revolutionary Firmness," in which he talked of "facing the raging sea" and the ability to withstand the "onslaughts of storms and hurricanes."[48] Under his pen, the stirring great leap forward, the heroic aspiration of the revolutionary people to transform the world, became "adverse circumstances." As the tempest of socialist revolution struck at the bourgeoisie, landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, and at their agents the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique, Tao Chu hysterically called for the ability "to withstand the onslaughts of storms and hurricanes." There is no need to add a single word; his counter-revolutionary stand is crystal clear.

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[46] "Problems Concerning Contradictions Among the People and Letting a Hundred Flowers Blossom and a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," "How to Handle Correctly the Contradictions Among the Kwangtung People," in *Nanfang Ribao* (*South China Daily*), May 4 and 5, 1957.

[47] *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 5.

[48] *Ibid*., p. 20.

Six years went by. It was 1965. On many occasions following the glorious Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Chairman Mao pointed out that the principal contradiction within China was the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist and the capitalist roads. In the document concerning the socialist education movement, known as "the 23 points," he stated that "the main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." These important instructions of Chairman Mao's were fiercely opposed and resisted by China's Khrushchov and by Tao Chu and company. Tao Chu showed himself up once again in November 1965, when the criticism and repudiation of the drama *Hai Jui Dismissed from Office* was just beginning and the life-and-death struggle against the counter-revolutionary revisionist, China's Khrushchov, was imminent. Writing in *Wenyi Bao* (*Literary and Art Gazette*), the mouthpiece of the counter-revolutionary black line in literature and art, he said: "I think that at the present stage the task of reflecting the contradictions among the people should be put in the most important position."[49] To argue that "contradictions among the people" formed the principal contradiction "at the present stage" was a flagrant denial of the fact that the principal contradiction within the country was the struggle between the two classes and between the two roads. It meant that he regarded the questions concerning the handful of counter-revolutionaries, renegades, Rightists and those in authority taking the capitalist road as contradictions "among the people," and thus covered up their crimes in trying to usurp the leadership in the Party, government and army, his purpose being to shield all the fiendish bourgeois counter-revolutionaries who had sneaked into the Party.

Has Tao Chu "always been a revolutionary?" No, he has always been a counter-revolutionary. It can be said that at every turning point in history, he invariably and openly took the bourgeois stand and opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and socialism. His much vaunted "ideals" are bourgeois counter-

[49] *Wenyi Bao*, No. 11, 1965, p. 3.

revolutionary ideals, the reactionary ideals of protecting and developing capitalism, the idle dream of overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism in China.

For example:

(1) Tau Chu says, "The idea of socialism is to use every means to ensure rapid national industrialization."[50] If this out-and-out reactionary theory of "socialism" were valid, wouldn't it follow that the industrialized United States attained socialism long ago? For the achievement of industrialization, there are two roads, two lines and two kinds of means—the socialist and the capitalist. To take the socialist road, it is essential to rely on the working class and the revolutionary masses, on the keeping of politics in the fore and on the revolutionary consciousness and initiative of the hundreds of millions of people awakened by Mao Zedong's thought, and to really place the leadership of the enterprises in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries. On the other hand, taking the capitalist road means reliance on a few bourgeois "experts," on material incentives and on the conservatives, as is repeatedly advocated in Tao Chu's book, it means the usurpation of the leadership of the enterprises by a privileged stratum representing the interests of the bourgeoisie. What Tao Chu calls "every means" is reliance on the bourgeoisie in order to develop the capitalist system of exploitation and oppose the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce.

"The history of China in the last century or so is a history of receiving blows, and the reason is that it had no industry."[51] Here Tao Chu talks like a bungling teacher of history giving us a lecture on the modem history of China, a lecture which is indeed a reversal of history. The principal explanation of why the Chinese received blows in the 109 years from 1840 to 1949 is not that they had no industry, but that political power was in the hands of the lackeys of imperialism, in the hands of traitors, from the Ching government through the

[50] *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 51.
[51] *Ibid*., p. 45.

Northern warlords down to Chiang Kai-shek. Ever since the seizure of power throughout China by the proletariat and the working people under the leadership of their great leader Comrade Mao Zedong, the imperialists have had to stop and think how strong their snouts are before they try to attack us. The more thoroughgoing the great cultural revolution, the more deeply the thought of Mao Zedong penetrates the consciousness of the people and the stronger the dictatorship of the proletariat, the more certain it is that no one will be able to match us in a war. This is the proletarian revolutionary ideal. To attribute the receiving of blows in the past entirely to the lack of industry is to cover up all the heinous crimes of the traitors and to prettify the Chinese lackeys of the international bourgeoisie who have tried to restore capitalism in the name of "developing industry." This chimes perfectly with the theory of national betrayal of China's Khrushchev!

(2) Tao Chu says that "the ideal of communism" means "comfortable houses." It is to "provide every room with electricity at night and enable everybody to dress sprucely and ride in motor-cars..."[52] In short, it means "good food, good clothing and good housing." It means pleasure-seeking. He is ready to sell his very soul, with a cheap "communist" label thrown in, to whoever gives him "good food and good housing." This is indeed the philosophy of the lowest traitors! Communism in appearance but ultra-individualism or capitalism in essence- that is the definition of Tao Chu's "ideal of communism." Wouldn't it follow from this definition that the life of the U.S. bourgeoisie perfectly fits the ideal of communism?

(3) Tao Chu says that it is a "lofty ideal" always to keep in mind that "one will become a navigator, aviator, scientist, writer, engineer, teacher..."[53] He lists one expert profession after another, but makes no mention at all of any worker, peasant or soldier. In the eyes of this renegade from the proletariat, the revolutionary workers, peasants and soldiers should rank very low. More than that, they should simply be

[52] *Ibid*., p. 112.
[53] *Ibid*., p. 95.

condemned to a bottomless hell, without any hope of gaining freedom. At the other extreme is a long string of bourgeois "experts," who are assigned a very high, or even the "loftiest" place. "The bourgeoisie took part in the democratic movement. They have industrial know-how and are not as corrupt as the landlords."[54] Now you admit that by "experts" you refer not to proletarian specialists but to the bourgeoisie and their representatives in cultural circles. What you call "know-how" is the capitalists' knowledge of how to exploit the workers craftily and ruthlessly, and other similar knowledge. It is Tao Chu's "lofty ideal" to stage a counter-revolutionary comeback through those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have climbed very high. Today, however, a number of very high bourgeois "authorities" have been pulled down by young revolutionary fighters.

Another of these great ideals is, in Tao Chu's words, "really enabling everybody to have personal ease of mind." In 1962, just at the time when the bourgeoisie launched wanton attacks on the proletariat and when evil spirits of all kinds danced in riotous revelry and poisonous weeds grew in profusion, to give the bourgeoisie "ease of mind," Tao Chu in his article "Thoughts on How to Make Creative Writing Flourish" wrote such nonsense about the bourgeois intellectuals as "quite a number have become intellectuals of the working people," and "it is necessary to bring the enthusiasm of labouring intellectuals into play."[55] (Note: In a speech he said: "The overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have now become intellectuals of the working people and the label of bourgeois intellectuals should be removed from them.") Fine! The "three-family village," such people as Tien Han, Hsia Yen, Wu Han and Chien Po-tsan as well as Hai Jui, Wei Cheng, Li Hui-niang and the like, have all "become intellectuals of the working people." Couldn't they now still more vigorously prepare public opinion for a capitalist restoration, for their label is removed and they have been provided with a fresh halo?

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[54] *Ibid*., p. 50.

[55] *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent* (in Chinese), Kwangtung People's Publishing House, Kwangchow, 1964, pp. 37–38.

Couldn't they now work to restore capitalism in comfort, with everybody happily "in harmony and enjoying ease of mind"?

Either the proletariat or the bourgeoisie is bound to lack ease of mind—this is the inevitable consequence of class struggle. When the proletariat has ease of mind, the bourgeoisie is bound to be uneasy. When the bourgeoisie has ease of mind, the proletariat is bound to suffer. Either one or the other. Whoever calls for redressing the bourgeoisie's grievance that it does not have ease of mind only proves that he himself shares the feelings of the bourgeoisie.

Tao Chu says that this "socialist ideal" of his is "beneficial to everybody," including the bourgeoisie. Socialism must eradicate the bourgeoisie through the dictatorship of the proletariat. How can it be beneficial to them? The "socialism" which is "beneficial to everybody" is phoney socialism, or Khrushchov-type revisionism, the counter-revolutionary theory of Bukharin that capitalism can "grow" into socialism. It is the reactionary theory of the "party of the entire people," the "state of the whole people" and the "socialism of the whole people" which abandons class struggle and abolishes the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the slogan for restoring capitalism in China after the triumph of socialism.

Enough! The material cited is sufficient to let us see this agent of the bourgeoisie in his true colours. He has obdurately followed a capitalist road which opposes socialism. What he thinks, praises and loves is capitalism; what he fears, curses and hates is socialism. In a word, the ideals in his writings are the remoulding of the state, society and the Party in the ugly image of the bourgeoisie.

This person has a "famous saying": "To establish socialist ideas or ideals . . . it is at least necessary to make socialist ideas cover over fifty per cent of the whole realm of one's ideology."[56] How is it possible to measure man's world outlook in percentages? It is utterly ridiculous. Stripped of its pretences, it is just a clumsy and colossal swindle. Its purpose is to tell the bourgeoisie to appear in disguise, to cloak fifty per cent of their language with socialist ideas and thus to cover up their evil capitalist nature. This is typical revisionism. Both

[56] *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 49.

books were written in this way. The top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road said in heart-to-heart talks with the bourgeoisie: So long as the bourgeoisie master Marxist phrases, they can "grow happily and peacefully into socialism" and gain both fame and wealth. This is the best footnote to "over fifty per cent" of "socialist ideas." "Ideals!" "Ideals!" At the sight of this faithful agent, the bourgeoisie are truly moved to tears of gratitude.

The Spiritual Life of a Renegade Flunkey

Would you like to know what kind of spiritual life is extolled in these two books? No need to read too far, just to get the essence is enough. It is the reactionary Kuomintang philosophy plus the flunkey's mentality.

Tao Chu has engraved on his memory and learnt by rote the reactionary and decadent idealism of the Kuomintang and the gangster talk of hangman Chiang Kai-shek. This counterrevolutionary stuff occupies pride of place in his spiritual life. Only a renegade can spit out such reactionary rubbish.

The following is to be found among Chiang Kai-shek's counter-revolutionary utterances: "As to the meaning of politics, Dr. Sun Yat-sen has told us clearly: politics is the management of public affairs . . . therefore the meaning of politics is finding the scientific method for the general mobilization of the whole nation to manage public affairs in order to seek the greatest welfare for the whole nation and people."[57]

Tao Chu rehashes all this with no change. He writes: "First of all, it is necessary to understand what politics is. Probably you all know Dr. Sun Yat-sen. He said: 'Politics is the management of public affairs'. Our 'management of public affairs' has the purpose of making our country prosperous and strong, making the people happy . . . that is, working for the people's interests, explaining reasons clearly and

[57] Chiang Kai-shek, *Essentials of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Teachings*, second lecture.

making people understand these reasons so that they join gladly and willingly in the work of building a socialist society."[58]

Tao Chu shamelessly proclaims that he was a student of Chiang Kai-shek. Or, more accurately, a flunkey—for doesn't he sound like a flunkey?

Calling politics "the management of public affairs" is the reactionary standpoint of the bourgeois exploiters. There is no such thing as "the public" in the abstract. In a class society the public is divided into classes. Nor is there such a thing as "management" in the abstract. In a class society management is invariably the handling of relations between classes, a question of which class controls and exercises political power. Chairman Mao penetratingly points out in his "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art": "Politics, whether revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, is the struggle of class against class."[59] Analysed from this standpoint of Chairman Mao's, politics is the struggle to consolidate or overthrow the political power of this or that class, the struggle to safeguard or destroy this or that system of ownership, the struggle to seize or preserve the interests of this or that class (or group). The proletariat can finally emancipate itself only by emancipating all mankind. Therefore, in its political struggle to overthrow the oppressive rule of the bourgeoisie and establish and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, the proletariat stands not only for its own class interests but also for those of the broad masses of the labouring people. It is in order to cover up the class content of its political activities and its oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the working people that the bourgeoisie describes its counter-revolutionary politics in such abstract terms as "the management of public affairs." This same old trick has always been played, starting with the bourgeoisie in the 18th century and coming right down to the Soviet modern revisionists with their "state of the whole people." Chiang Kai-shek's "management of the public" consists of the sanguinary suppression and slaughter of the

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[58] *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, pp. 42–43.

[59] Mao Zedong, "Selected Works," Eng. Ed., Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, p. 86.

toiling masses by the counter-revolutionary state apparatus, while describing the counter-revolutionary rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie as "seeking happiness for the whole nation and people" and even deceiving them by "general mobilization." This is the zenith of shamelessness. By rehashing all this, flunkey Tao Chu tries to bring about counter-revolutionary capitalist restoration and abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, while describing servile acts in the interests of the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries as "working for the interests of the people"; moreover, he tries to cheat the people by "explaining the reasons clearly." This, too, is the zenith of shamelessness.

In his counter-revolutionary utterances, Chiang Kai-shek was an advocate of the "spirit of sincere devotion" and lauded "the man with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things." Tao Chu dishes all this up unchanged:

> We do not negate in toto Dr. Sun Yat-sen's expressions "the man with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things" and "the man with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things." These are to be found in society: some people make progress faster and some more slowly. If only a man has the desire to advance, in the end he will make progress . . .[60]

> Marxists should be magnanimous to other people and strict with themselves . . . They should not demand too much of non-Party people, but should seek "sincere unity" with them as Sun Yat-sen said . . .[61]

The phrases "the man with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things" and "the man with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things" express the reactionary viewpoint of historical idealism which empties things of their class content and is divorced from social practice. Chairman Mao points out:

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[60] *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent*, p. 21.
[61] Tao Chu's talk to Kwangtung "democrats," September 27, 1961.

> It is man's social being that determines his thinking. Once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced class are grasped by the masses, these ideas turn into a material force which changes society and changes the world.[62]

Those counter-revolutionary revisionists who will never repent and those diehard capitalist roaders who refuse to correct their errors after repeated education are that way not because they are "men with a backward knowledge and blunt perception of things," but because of their social being, i.e., their bourgeois class status, which determines their obstinately taking the capitalist road. Similarly, the U.S. imperialist butchers and the renegade clique of the C.P.S.U. are that way not because they lack "the desire to advance," but because they represent the reactionary bourgeoisie, and whatever tricks they play in the line they adopt, it can only be a counter-revolutionary line serving the U.S. monopoly capitalists and the Soviet bourgeois privileged stratum. As for the proletarian revolutionaries, the reason why they can smash all obstacles, break through every kind of onerous and cruel suppression by the handful of top Party capitalist roaders and win victory is not that they are "men with a foreknowledge and keen perception of things," but that they have grasped the thought of Mao Zedong, that theoretical weapon which is the quintessence of the highest wisdom of the proletariat of China and the world, and that they represent the interests of the proletariat and the working masses. Therefore, the more they fight, the stronger they become, and they are indomitable in all difficulties and always maintain unfailing revolutionary optimism. Today, in advocating reactionary idealism such as that we have described, Tao Chu tries to make people believe that the bourgeoisie "will make progress in the end," to lull the people's revolutionary vigilance and to help the bourgeoisie sneak into the ranks of the proletariat to carry out sabotage.

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[62] Mao Zedong, "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" Eng. Ed., FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 1.

The expression "sincere unity" as used by Tao Chu is precisely the language of the Kuomintang reactionaries! Different classes give different interpretations of the identical term. We, too, occasionally use this term. Then it means unity for the definite aim of revolution, for the struggle to carry out the revolutionary tasks of the proletariat. We always say, unity subject to a socialist orientation, and unity on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought. In contrast, Tao Chu's "sincere unity" discards all principle, betrays the socialist orientation and caters to the needs of the bourgeoisie. Unity and struggle are two contradictory aspects of a single entity. Without struggle, there is no unity. Unity is relative and transitional whereas struggle is absolute. Everything in this world divides into two in the course of its development. Men's knowledge always develops in struggle. As Chairman Mao points out: "Marxism can develop only through struggle, and not only is this true of the past and the present, it is necessarily true of the future as well."[63] Where is there such an immutable "sincere unity" as Tao Chu's? The fortune-teller hangs up a signboard reading, "Effective if sincere." It's a trick. Chiang Kai-shek used the term "sincere unity" to cover up internal dog-fights and as a tool for instilling fascist ideas, whereas Tao Chu does something original—he puts up the signboard of Marxism to disintegrate the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie.

The book also says: "The reason why victory could be won in the earlier period of the great revolution of 1925–27 was that Dr. Sun Yat-sen reorganized the Kuomintang and adopted the three great policies 'in conformity with' the objective law of the revolution at that time."[64] It is a plain distortion of history and a reversal of the truth when Tao Chu attributes victory in the early period of the First Revolutionary Civil War of 1925–27 not to the correct leadership and policies of the Communist Party of China represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, not to the struggles of the revolutionary people, but solely to the Kuomintang. He simply speaks for the Kuomintang

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[63] Mao Zedong, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Eng. Ed., FLP, Peking, 1966, p. 37.

[64] *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 67.

reactionaries. Isn't he speaking with a traitor's voice when he gives the fruits of victory won with the blood of countless revolutionary martyrs to the Kuomintang in order to please it?

Enough! Enough! Does not all this vile talk reveal that behind Tao Chu's "spiritual life" lies the realm of reactionary Kuomintang philosophy?

Besides the reactionary Kuomintang philosophy, his ideas are all rubbish from the sinister book on "self-cultivation."

Doesn't the book *Ideals* cheat our young people when it prates that "personal and collective interests cannot be separated," that if a person makes a show of "doing a good job," he will be "taken into account," "be appreciated," "be praised" and even "have his fame spread to the whole country and the whole world"? This is a complete reproduction of the philistine speculator's philosophy of China's Khrushchov, the philosophy of "lose a little to gain much." In February 1960, when he received members of the Standing Committees of the China Democratic National Construction Association and the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce, the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road tipped off the representatives of the bourgeoisie, saying: "Personal benefits will accrue if you serve the people wholeheartedly."[65] These words are an accurate summary of this bourgeois careerist's experience in "getting on in the world" over several decades of his life and generalize the quintessence of the philosophy of life of this traitor to the proletariat. When used by him and the handful of people like him, such terms as "serve the people" and "collective interests" are falsehoods and deception, they are employed for show, they are the means, whereas personal interests, personal power and personal enjoyment are real, they are the ends they pursue, the essence of their dirty souls. This is the trick used by the bourgeois counterrevolutionary double-dealers to sneak into the ranks of the revolutionaries and to seize power. Can we

[65] China's Khrushchov, "Summary of Talk to the Central Committee of the China Democratic National Construction Association and Leading Members of the All-China Federation of Industry and Commerce," February 12, 1960.

tolerate the criminal use of this trick to poison the younger generation and destroy the people with soft weapons?

Doesn't the book *Ideals* also cheat the young people when it says: "Our common world outlook together with our common method of thinking ... consists in proceeding from objective reality, in admitting that right is right and wrong is wrong"?[66] This, too, is merchandise bought from China's Khrushchov. In class society, there are distinct class criteria for right and wrong. Reality means, first of all, the reality of class struggle: do you stand on the side of the proletariat or on the side of the bourgeoisie? On the side of imperialism or on the side of the revolutionary people? On the side of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought, or on the side of revisionism? On the side of the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao or on the side of the counter-revolutionary bourgeois headquarters? Using the abstractions of "right and wrong" to cover up their class approach to problems is the common characteristic of opportunists who have sold their souls. In May 1949, reporting on his infamous visit to Tientsin where he genuflected to the bourgeoisie, China's Khrushchov said shamelessly: "The capitalists said that our newspapers were not well run. I said that indeed they were not altogether well run. I admitted this mistake too . . . In the future we should adopt the attitude: right is right, wrong is wrong, good is good, bad is bad . . . If there is anything good about the capitalists, we should say it's good; if there is anything bad about the workers, we should say it's bad."[67] Look how he "proceeded from reality"! "Where there is anything good about the capitalists, we should say it's good; if there is anything bad about the workers, we should say it's bad." What a fair judge he is! What a clear approach to right and wrong this scab takes! See how this infamous flunkey of the bourgeoisie never forgets his masters' "goodness"! How flagrant is his ferocity when he condemns the workers for being "bad"! And how well the author of the book *Ideals* has memorized the soul-selling philosophy of that certain person!

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[66] *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, pp. 68–69.

[67] China's Khrushchov, "Talk at the Peking Cadres' Conference," May 19, 1949.

The book *Ideals* misrepresents dialectical materialism when it states that "existence is primary while thinking is only secondary, the objective is primary while the subjective is only secondary,"[68] totally denying man's dynamic role, the leap from matter to consciousness and from consciousness to matter, and the dialectical process of practice, knowledge, again practice, again knowledge . . . in the development of man's knowledge. This is certainly not dialectical materialism but reactionary metaphysics. The proletariat's sole aim in understanding the objective world is to transform it in accordance with the laws inherent in the development of things. If one negates the transformation of the objective world, negates the revolution and the struggle to push history forward, doesn't the statement that "the objective is primary" become empty words on a sheet of paper? But this criticism alone is far from sufficient. It must be understood that the reason why Tao Chu advocates this mechanical or vulgar materialism is to spread opportunism of a certain kind, under which one drifts with the current and is ready to sell out the interests of the proletariat at any time in order to serve the bourgeoisie. Isn't it true that the bourgeoisie also has an objective existence and one may proceed from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, follow its words and take its interests as the criterion, "right is right and wrong is wrong"? In this way the restoration of capitalism can be brought about under the cloak of "seeking the truth from facts" and dialectical materialism. These tricks can be seen through once their true nature is exposed.

Did not Tao Chu say to some young people excitedly, "There are males and females in the world and they will naturally have love affairs"?[69] This immediately makes one think of the absurd "famous saying" of China's Khrushchov: "One head of cattle plus another head of cattle is still cattle . . . but a bull plus a cow makes a new relationship; a man plus a woman forms the husband-and-wife relationship. Everything is a unity of opposites."[70] In the eyes of this

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[68] *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 69.
[69] *Wenyi Bao*, No. 11, 1965, p. 6.
[70] China's Khrushchov, "On Organizational and Disciplinary Training of Communists" (1941).

gang, the relations between one person and another are the same as those between a bull and a cow. In class society, people are differentiated according to their class and are linked according to their class relations. The relations between man and woman are no exception. Lu Hsun wrote in his " 'Hard Translation' and the 'Class Character of Literature' ": "Victims of famine will hardly grow orchids like rich old gentlemen, nor will Chiao Ta in the Chia family fall in love with Miss Lin." [Chiao Ta is a servant in the feudal Chia family in the classical novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber* and Miss Lin (Lin Tai-yu), the heroine, a niece of the Chia family.—*Tr.*] This basic fact is denied by members of this gang, they trample it underfoot. But their vulgar language cannot in the least mar Marxist class analysis. It only goes to show that their views on people's interrelations and their "self-cultivation" are vulgar bourgeois nonsense such as "a bull plus a cow" and "a man plus a woman." Isn't it clear that these persons with their voluble talk about "self-cultivation" are hypocrites rotten to the core?

Tao Chu's book says that the "success or failure" of a person in "his decades of life" is determined by "whether his subjective ideas conform with the objective situation."[71] How did he himself obsequiously make his "subjective ideas" conform with the "objective situation" under Kuomintang rule, and in his "decades" of "success" how did he conform with U.S. imperialism, the Kuomintang reactionaries and the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie? Should not all this be brought out into the light of day?

Feelings of Bitter Hatred Towards the Proletariat

In May 1959, just before the revisionist Peng Teh-huai dished up his sinister programme in a desperate effort to restore capitalism, Tao Chu, assuming the manner of Hai Jui in his article "The Sun's Radiance," blatantly and viciously abused our great socialist cause, our great Party and our great leader. On the one hand, he said that people used the words "the east is red, the sun rises" to "describe the

[71] *Ideals, Integrity and Spiritual Life*, p. 67.

vigour and vitality of our great cause" and that they "eulogize our Party and leader by likening them to the sun." On the other hand, he attacked the "faults" of the sun openly and railed obliquely: "In the depth of summer when the glaring sun is scorching the earth and making people sweat, they grumble and say that the sun's light and heat are excessive. And as everyone knows and has pointed out too, the sun itself has black spots on it."[72]

"The sun itself has black spots on it." ls this not downright invective against our Party and great leader? In Tao Chu's eyes not only are there "black spots," but socialism is altogether pitch black. For those who see with bourgeois eyes, brightness and darkness are reversed. They are blinder than the blind. In the view of this revisionist, the radiance of socialism shed by the sun is intolerable to those in authority taking the capitalist road, it reveals their true features, makes them "sweat" and is "excessive." This is where the "faults" of the sun lie. In fact, this is precisely why the sun is great. Monsters and demons, bed bugs and lice, germs and viruses which hide in dark corners in the house can only be killed when they are exposed to the light and heat of the sun. True working people are tempered and get stronger in the sunshine. How can one get strong without sweating in the sun? To condemn the sun for its "light and heat" is in fact to condemn the proletariat for "exceeding the limit," to condemn socialism and the people's communes for their "excesses." This naked bourgeois double-talk only shows him up as a ghost that dares not face the light of the sun.

In "The Character of the Pine," does not Tao Chu praise the pine for "shutting out the sun's glare by its foliage in summer"?[73] The brilliance of Mao Zedong's thought cannot be shut out. He who is bent on challenging brightness can only sink from darkness into deeper darkness.

It is noteworthy that the phrase "eulogize our Party and leader by likening them to the sun" was suddenly changed into "eulogize our great, glorious and correct Party by likening it to the sun" in the second

[72] *Ibid*., p. 9.
[73] *Ibid*., p. 4.

edition of *Ideals* which came out in 1965. This dodge which was meant to cover up his vicious purpose actually helps to expose it more flagrantly and it perfectly reveals his guilty conscience. He cut out the word "leader." Does not this precisely indicate that, between 1959 and 1962, when he wrote this article and published this book, he directed his spearhead at our great leader? Otherwise, why should he hastily cut it out? He added the words "great, glorious and correct" before "Party." Does not this precisely indicate that he did not consider the Chinese Communist Party great, glorious and correct when he wrote his article and published his book? Otherwise, why should he hastily add them? He had a guilty conscience and feared his looks would betray him. That is why he was in such a pother. Is it not true that in a report made in May 1959, in Swatow, Kwangtung Province, Tao Chu clamoured about the need to "learn from the style of Hai Jui" in co-ordination with Peng Teh-huai's attack? Apparently the style of this Hai Jui was not so lofty and he did not show much ability. Nevertheless, the rephrasing mentioned above inadvertently revealed his crimes in opposing the Party, socialism and Chairman Mao in co-ordination with Peng Teh-huai and company—an iron-clad fact which he can never succeed in denying. By late September 1959, the Lushan Meeting of the Party Central Committee had ended, the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique had been exposed and the unbridled attack launched by the revisionists had been smashed. Then in his article "A Hard-Won Victor," this revisionist Tao Chu was compelled to go through the motions of expressing dissatisfaction with "a few persons" who "took a keen interest in the shortcomings in our work."[74] However, who were the few persons he referred to? Did they not include Tao Chu himself? In one of his articles, did he not order the press to "cover the shortcomings and errors in our work and to do this, notwithstanding the fact that they were but a single finger as compared with nine"?[75] Wasn't he the person who was keen on exposing what he called the "dark side" and "black spots" of socialism? This cannot be denied. It is precisely because he had a hand in the dirty business that he

[74] *Ibid*., p. 26.
[75] *Ibid*., p. 11.

expressed profound sympathy in this article for those whom he referred to as a few persons. He said that "in mentioning these people we hope that they will change their stand and, first of all, join the ranks of the builders of socialism heart and soul."[76] This amounted to advising the bankrupt Right opportunists to pretend to "change their stand" so as to sneak their way into the revolutionary ranks and to continue their anti-socialist activities.

Burning hatred for the proletariat, deep affection and solicitude for the bourgeoisie—such are Tao Chu's feelings. Here this monster now stands revealed, stripped of his mask.

"Literary Talent" Which is Rotten to the Core

How shameful it is for a man to preen himself on his "literary talent" on the strength of a pretentious literary style and incomprehensible language! It is very much like those ignorant landlords who hung on the lips of men of letters and, while obviously possessing not a tittle of literary knowledge, rocked back and forth, chanting mumbo jumbo like classical scholars.

Though displaying no literary talent whatsoever, the books *Ideals* and *Thinking* actively propagate the revisionist line in literature and art in its entirety. The author, Tao Chu, has faithfully applied the reactionary programme for literature and art laid down by the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and is a jackal from the same lair as Lu Ting-yi and Chou Yang. In the spring of 1960, at the "National Conference of Newsreel and Documentary Scenarists" which was convened by the counter-revolutionary revisionists Hsia Yen and Chen Huang-mei of the old Ministry of Culture, they distributed the big poisonous weed *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent* as a conference document for all participants to study. This shows to what extent they worked in collusion. To counter Chairman Mao's line on literature and art, Tao Chu had netted into his black rag-bag almost every kind of reactionary idea then prevalent in literary and art circles, i.e., the theory of "human nature," of "truthful writing,"

[76] *Ibid*., p. 27.

of "freedom of creation," of "the middle character," the theory that "there is no harm in ghost plays," etc. Let us give one or two examples and briefly refute them.

"Communist Party members are warm-hearted . . . they must feel for everybody except counter-revolutionaries."[77] In class society there are only class feelings; there are no feelings above class. "Feelings" here means "love." "To feel for everybody" is identical with the "love for everybody" propagated by modern revisionism. It means to "love" the exploiting classes, "love" renegades, "love" their flunkeys and "love" those in authority taking the capitalist road. This is the most shameless genuflection to reactionaries.

"We must fully develop the writers' freedom of creation. The writer's pen is his own and the writer's ideas are his own. We must allow the writers independence of creation."[78] This is a naked counter-revolutionary slogan straight out of the Petofi Club. There is only freedom in the concrete, no freedom in the abstract. In class society there is only class freedom; there is no freedom above class. All works of literature and art serve the politics of definite classes. There is no such thing as "free" literature and art detached from class politics, nor can there be any. Whatever their particular form of expression, the ideas of any person, including those of any writer, are not isolated "ideas of his own." They are a manifestation of the ideas, interests and aspirations of definite classes and the reflection of class relations in a given society. Do the 700 million Chinese people have 700 million kinds of "ideas of their own"? Certainly not. Fundamentally they fall into only two kinds - one is the world outlook of the proletariat, or Mao Zedong's thought; the other is the world outlook of the bourgeoisie, or bourgeois individualism of every kind. To advocate "freedom of creation" or "independence of creation" which depart from Mao Zedong's thought is to instigate demons freely to attack socialism and propagate capitalism, and to deprive the proletarian revolutionaries of all freedom of counter-attack, thus serving the criminal intrigue of restoring capitalism .. The term "freedom of

[77] *Ibid*., p. 75.
[78] *Thinking, Feeling and Literary Talent*, p. 33.

creation" is nothing but a fig-leaf for the diehard servants of the bourgeoisie.

"Life is many-sided. It does not conform to one pattern. So don't confine it within a fixed framework."[79] This is nothing but the "theory of opposition to subject matter as the decisive factor." Using the pretext of opposing "a fixed framework," its purpose is actually to oppose revolutionary writers doing their best to reflect the class struggle in the socialist era, sing the praise of the workers, peasants and soldiers and portray proletarian heroes. "Life is many-sided." Actually, it has two main sides. One is the revolutionary struggle of the proletarian revolutionaries and the broad working masses who, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, push history forward. The other is the rotten reactionary life of the bourgeois reactionaries who resist the progress of history. We must take the militant life of the proletarian revolutionaries who are really conscious of their historical task as the principal aspect, as our orientation and as the central theme for praise and portrayal, and through the portrayal of typical heroes, reflect our unprecedentedly heroic age and the tremendous power and triumph of Mao Zedong's thought. As for the reactionary rotten life of the bourgeoisie, it can serve only as the target for criticism, assault and exposure and must never serve as the main side of creative works. "It does not conform to one pattern"; but there must be a pattern, and in Tao Chu's mind life consists of the vulgar sentiments and demoralizing tunes of the bourgeoisie in the novel *Three-Family Lane* which have won his unceasing praise and which in fact are decaying rubbish in the garbage of history. Isn't this clear enough?

So long as literature and art "truthfully reflect reality ... to me, their role at times is no less important than that of editorials and reports."[80] This again is an exact reproduction of Hu Feng's theory of "truthful writing." All images created in works of literature and art show the political tendencies of the writers and artists, their class love and class hatred. There is no such thing as an abstract or disinterested "truthful reflection of reality." Proletarian revolutionaries are

[79] *Ibid*., p. 45–46.
[80] *Ibid*., p. 3.

thoroughgoing materialists. Thoroughgoing materialists are dauntless. Only from the proletarian standpoint can one truthfully reflect the essence of historical progress. The reactionary literature and art of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists present the workers, peasants and soldiers in a distorted form, and they distort reality. This is the inevitable result of the reactionary world outlook of historical idealism on which such literature and art rest. To promote "truthful writing" in the abstract means to oppose the propagation of Mao Zedong's thought and the education of the people in the communist spirit through literature and art. It means negating and covering up the class character of literature and art, and seeking a theoretical basis for noxious weeds which glamorize the exploiting classes and defame the proletariat. It is the rottenest muck in the bourgeois armoury of literature and art.

"One may look at both the good and the bad aspect . . . it is permissible for literary and artistic works to describe shortcomings... we must not give the impression that when we want to praise the people's communes we have to laud them to the skies."[81] This is the theory of "exposure of the dark side," a reproduction of the reactionary theory of laying "equal stress on the bright and the dark, half and half," which Chairman Mao condemned long ago. We should distinguish between the main current and the minor currents of life. Only when we focus on the main current can we give a typical presentation of the essence of social advance. Minor currents merely offer a contrast to the main current and can be used as a means to present the essence, forming a subordinate aspect of the whole, and partial and temporary twists in the course of advance, never to be regarded as the main content of life. We should centre our efforts mainly on writing about the bright, on praising our great victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction, that is, praising the triumph of Mao Zedong's thought, on presenting the world-shaking heroism and wisdom of proletarian revolutionary fighters in the struggle, on portraying the heroic workers, peasants and soldiers of our era and not on presenting the "good side" and the "bad side," half and half. Naturally writings

[81] *Ibid*., 46–47.

about the people's communes should praise their superiority to the full. Why should it be necessary to list all the shortcomings and mistakes occurring along the path of progress? There is a song called The People's Communes Are Fine. Is it necessary to modify this title with another sentence "the people's communes have shortcomings"? To exaggerate, play up and build vicious fabrication upon partial, isolated phenomena is the old tune the imperialists, the revisionists and the bourgeoisie harp on in their rumour-mongering and slanders, and this veteran Rightist echoes them. Is it necessary to avoid contradiction in devoting our main effort to praising the bright? Is it necessary to avoid talking of the enemy's struggles and counter-attacks? Is it necessary to tone down sharp conflicts? No, it is not. Society advances through class struggle. The revolutionary forces of the proletariat invariably blaze their way forward in fierce struggle with the counter-revolutionary forces of the bourgeoisie. Only by making typical historical generalizations about class contradictions and class struggles can the bright, the victorious and the heroic be portrayed in all their depth and splendour, and not superficially and trivially. The revolutionary people will sweep Tao Chu's theory of the "exposure of the dark side" into the dust-bin of history, along with his black soul.

See Through the Khrushchov-Type Careerists

From the several aspects mentioned above, people can easily see that Tao Chu is nothing but a big Rightist who managed to slip out of the net, a revisionist, a loyal executant and propagandist of the reactionary bourgeois line represented by China's Khrushchov, a counter-revolutionary double-dealer who sneaked into the Party. The reactionary system of Kuomintang philosophy and the other germs spread by his books must be thoroughly wiped out.

Tao Chu is a careerist of the Khrushchov-type. He sticks stubbornly to the capitalist political orientation. He bitterly hates socialism and hankers after capitalism day and night. His ideals in politics, culture and life are nothing but a capitalist restoration in

China. His head is stuffed with the reactionary world outlook of the exploiting classes, such as the philosophy of traitors and the idea of "a man will die for the one who sees his real worth." However, in his efforts not to be exposed under the dictatorship of the proletariat, he cannot but disguise himself in a revolutionary cloak. This fellow is extremely crooked. He is a double-dealer who talks big, now eloquent and seemingly straightforward and now insinuating; such are his familiar practices. But on the fundamental question of which road to take, the socialist or the capitalist road, he can be promptly stripped of his disguise and his true features can be laid bare when he is brought before the magic mirror of Mao Zedong's thought. Aren't these two books iron-clad proof of his taking the capitalist road?

All careerists of the Khrushchov-type are conspiratorial usurpers of Party leadership. In order to oppose the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, oppose Mao Zedong's thought and oppose the proletarian revolutionaries, they resort to all kinds of tricks and intrigues to expand the power held by a handful of revisionists and they shamelessly boost themselves. Tao Chu came out with these two books not only to prepare public opinion for a capitalist restoration, but also as a means of expanding the power held by a handful of revisionists like himself. There is an article in his book entitled, "Introduction to Notes of Talks Made During the Journey to the West." *Notes of Talks Made During the Journey to the Wes*t was originally entitled *Notes of Talks Taken by Members of My Entourage*. When he was wandering around, Tao Chu took along several malevolent scholars as members of his retinue. He talked at random, and these scholars took notes on his talk as though it consisted of imperial decrees. The notes were then embellished and released to the press. The "notes of talks" are notes on Tao Chu's talks. From these, "a total of 27 articles were produced"! He had the audacity to have them published in book form. He even chose the title for the collection, wrote an introduction and added an inscription! Does not this show his ambition to become the "despotic ruler of the south"? In the propagation of his reactionary views, Tao Chu's books, *Ideals* and *Thinking*, teem with such displays of personal power and self-

glorification. He intended to use these books to prepare public opinion for the seizure of power from the proletarian headquarters. When Tao Chu came from his regional post to the central organ of leadership, he extended his reach so far and wide and within a few months exposed his wild desire to seize power from the proletariat so strikingly, stopping at nothing in recruiting deserters and turncoats, buying over bad elements who had already been exposed by the revolutionary people, opposing the Central Committee of the Party headed by Chairman Mao and attacking the revolutionaries, that none of his I double-dealing tricks could any longer cover up his counterrevolutionary ambition. Can we not draw an important lesson from this negative example and learn how to see through persons of the Khrushchov-type?

Tao Chu is a despicable pragmatist. He has the glib talk of the speculator. In order to peddle revisionism and to oppose and attack what he called dogmatism—actually Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong's thought—he appeared as an ultra-Rightist one minute and on the extreme "Left" the next. In this way, he corrupted, confused and hoodwinked those who waver in the middle of the road, so as to protect himself from being exposed. After he took charge of the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee, Tao Chu became the faithful agent of the top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in suppressing the revolutionary masses. He did his utmost to oppose Chairman Mao's vital big-character poster "Bombard the Headquarters." He tried his best to protect the ghosts and monsters. But when the masses rose to criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, with a twist of the body he made a sudden change and appeared in the guise of an ultra-Left anarchist. He shouted himself hoarse that "in the great cultural revolution, it is correct to doubt everyone." "I am all for bombardment in general... nobody knows what the headquarters really represent, and that goes for every headquarters." "You can oppose anybody." He "creatively" developed the bourgeois reactionary line of "hitting hard at the many in order to protect a handful." He appeared to be surprisingly "Left," but in fact he was "Left" in form and Right in essence. His purpose

was to blur the distinction between the proletarian headquarters and the bourgeois headquarters, and direct the spearhead of attack at the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao so that the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road could sneak away in the confusion. "To doubt everyone" and such like are all aimed at the proletarian headquarters. "To doubt everyone" except himself, "to overthrow everyone" except himself—isn't there something fishy here? Comrades, please note that there are now a handful of counterrevolutionaries who are adopting the same method. Using slogans that sound extremely "Left" but in essence are extremely Right, they have stirred up evil gusts of "doubting everyone," while bombarding the proletarian headquarters, creating dissension and exploiting confusion. To achieve their sinister ulterior aim, they have vainly attempted to shake and split the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao. The organizers and manipulators of the so-called "May 16" group are just such a scheming counter-revolutionary gang. It must be thoroughly exposed; Young people who have been misled and have not understood the true situation should pull themselves up sharply and turn back to hit those who have misled them. They should avoid the traps set for them. This counter-revolutionary organization has two aims: one is to undermine and split the leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by our great leader Chairman Mao and the other is to undermine and split the main pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the great Chinese People's Liberation Army. This counter-revolutionary organization dare not come out into the open. It has hidden itself underground in Peking for the last few months. We have not as yet fully identified most of its members and leaders. For they only send their people out in the silence of the night to paste up broadsheets and paint slogans. The broad masses are making investigations in relation to these people, and things will shortly be made clear. With regard to these persons, so long as we use the method of class analysis which Chairman Mao teaches and study their attitude to the bourgeoisie and to the proletariat, study their political tendencies by analysing whom they support and whom they oppose, and study their past history, we

will be able to detect a sinister counter-revolutionary hand in the midst of the constantly changing phenomenon. The more they try to cover up those things which have already been exposed by pretending to be extraordinarily "excessive" or "fair," the more fully they reveal their true features as careerists. Take the revisionist Tao Chu for example. This obvious thief consciously adopted the guise of a sage; this obvious man of the extreme Right, who openly declared that his heart "beat in unison with" that of the bourgeoisie, suddenly and deliberately jumped to the extremely "Left" position of "doubting everyone." Yet all the time the spearhead of his attack was directed at the proletarian revolutionaries. This clearly exposes him as a careerist.

The deepening of the class struggle and the victories of the proletarian revolutionaries compel our enemies constantly to change their tactics of struggle. When one counter-revolutionary scheme of theirs is seen through, they resort to another and they use these devices alternately. But these scoundrels can never escape detection by Mao Zedong's thought which discovers the minutest detail in everything. In the present victorious situation, we must give full attention to the general orientation of the struggle, to safeguarding the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, to carrying through the unified plan of battle decided upon by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee of the Party, to mastering policies and tactics, to uniting the great majority and to preventing such characters as Tao Chu from creating confusion in our ranks, from either the Right or the "Left," or both sides simultaneously. When the forces of the Left make mistakes, the forces of the Right exploit them. This has always been so. In the current movement of mass criticism and repudiation, we should arrive at a still deeper understanding of this fact by summing up the historical experience of class struggle.

In chapter five of the novel *The Dream of the Red Chamber* there is a song entitled "The Trouble with Being Too Clever." Its first two lines read:

> With all your calculations and intrigues, you are too clever;
> They bring you no good but will cost you your life!

All the Khrushchov-like careerists who oppose Mao Zedong's thought and think themselves clever have "calculated and intrigued" in the dark. This game can be said to have reached its climax with Tao Chu's invention of the famous "art of transplanting people's heads" (the head of the No. 2 top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road was cut from another picture and transplanted on to someone else's shoulders in a photograph in order to give prominence to the No. 2 Party capitalist roader in opposition to the decision of the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party). But in the end the rock these people lift to hurl at others drops on their own feet, and they themselves create the conditions for their own downfall. The handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road in the Wuhan area have turned out to be fools of the same kind, simple-minded and reactionary in their thinking. Those who intrigue will come to no good end. When the broad masses rise to action, nothing evil can be hidden any more. The downfall of the revisionist scoundrels who oppose Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line is inevitable. Such is the verdict of history. No matter how they struggle and quibble, the handful of Khrushchov-like careerists will never be able to escape this verdict of history.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is surging forward like a mighty torrent. The brilliant rays of Mao Zedong's thought are lighting up all China and the entire world. China's proletarian revolutionaries and revolutionary people are courageous. We are determined to carry this great revolution through to the end. The counter-offensives, attacks, rumours and sowing of discord by the handful of capitalist roaders in authority, and all the different kinds of slander, distortion, vilification and clamour coming from the imperialists, the reactionaries of all countries and the modern revisionists, definitely cannot prevent our advance but will only prove these same persons to be thoroughly stupid and at the end of their tether. Comrades, let us raise our hands and hail this great storm which is cleansing the vast land of China! Mao Zedong's thought is invincible. The people's strength is inexhaustible. What is new-born

and revolutionary is irresistible. People will see that, after traversing the magnificent and tortuous path of the great cultural revolution, a great socialist China under the dictatorship of the proletariat, unprecedentedly strong, consolidated and unified, will tower in the East like a giant and deal still heavier blows at the cannibals of the 20th century.

REFORMING THE FINE ARTS (1968)

Jiang Qing Yao Wenyuan Chen Boda

From transcription provided by *Marxists.org*

[Editors: Yao Wenyuan adds comments primarily. Most of this is from Jiang Qing.]

I don't like Pan Tianshou's paintings. They are so gloomy. Those bald eagles he paints are really ugly. Gloomy and hideous. (**Wenyuan:** *The fact that they are so gloomy has to do with him being a special agent. Those bald eagles Pan Tianshou likes to paint are embodiments of special agents.*)

A few years ago, how come there were so many paintings by Pan Tianshou around? Why did you here in Hangzhou praise him so much? I remember there was even an exhibit of his in Beijing, and the prices were really high. There was Fu Baoshi as well. Xu Beihong should be affirmed, artistically he should be affirmed. He made foreign things serve China and the old serve the new, and he was quite sophisticated. Xu Beihong's gallery should not be closed down. Qi Baishi is an old miser, a real scoundrel! Tan Zhenlin's wife is also an old miser. (**Wenyuan:** *Huang Zhou is a very nasty person.*)

Now as for paintings, they must serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. The workers, peasants, and soldiers should occupy that battle front. The central ideological theme of what is painted must be quite clear, the composition must be quite simple, and the central theme must be pronounced. At present, the general appearance of your paintings is far too scattered, too messy. (*Refers to the paintings shown on this occasion.*)

We must popularize; popularization is our basis. But we must also, on the basis of popularization, raise our level. We must have works of art on a higher level. The fine arts must produce a few model works. If there are no works on a higher level, people will curse us and say what we do is all as plain as boiled water, in which case we shall not be able to stand our ground. We will be chased off the stage....

Just painting portraits is not enough. There must be greater variety. But in the past, all those bright and colorful paintings just did not take as their subject the workers, peasants, and soldiers, nor did they serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. You must train talented artists from among the workers, peasants, and soldiers, as well as serve the workers, peasants, and soldiers. The Academy of Fine Arts need not necessarily produce specialists. It is very good of you to organize amateur training classes for talented workers, peasants, and soldiers. There are many talented workers, peasants, and soldiers. Initially, we had planned to experiment in the same way in all of the arts schools, not just in fine arts, but in music, opera, and ballet as well, but it just did not work. Right now we still don't have the capacity. Right now we're concentrating our energies on grasping politics, and there is no time for us to carry out experiments in the arts schools. At lower levels, they cannot figure things out. The forces in your schools seem to be quite concentrated, so you could be quite bold! Merge some departments, and send them down to the countryside and down to the factories. Turn them into comprehensive arts schools, or at least conduct some trials! Move out into the world of practice! We have not set any restrictions. You can report your achievements to us. We'll allow you to keep a few extra backbone elements and a few extra graduates for the sake of educational reform.

(*While being briefed about the deep roots that Zhou Yang, Cai Ruohong, Hua Junwu, Jiang Feng, Mo Pu, and other black-line representatives of the 1930s bourgeoisie had in the Academy of Fine Arts:*) And there's the 1920s, the 1940s, the 1950s, all the way up to the 1960s as well. Centuries of the bourgeoisie, and millennia of feudalism, have made an impact. But it's nothing to be afraid of. Take opera reform: Didn't the eight model operas, as soon as they were out, just overwhelm and devastate them?

(*While being briefed about the fact that large numbers of provinces and municipalities all have their own fine arts institutes, arts and crafts schools, opera and music academies:*) What's the point of having that many in every province? It's a big mess and they're just turning out little "lords." There is a teacher in the Central Academy of

Fine Arts who uses oil to paint traditional New Year's paintings in the Dunhuang style. Totally divorced from reality! New Year's paintings, picture-story books, and wood-block prints all have a future, and their role might even be bigger. Painting for the stage is very important. Now they move huge trees onto the stage in some places! They're not utilizing stage lighting properly. Oil paintings, as an art form, need to be reformed. Models still need to be painted. But to rely solely on models won't do. You also have to learn how to draw from memory. Some people don't know how to paint without a model.

(*While speaking of arts and crafts:*) The students in the Central Academy of Arts and Crafts are complaining and want to go down to the countryside. Why not select a few factories and mines for them to go to? I once talked with Comrade Ke Qingshi about how to arrange for arts and crafts to enter the factories. We have a fine tradition of artistic design in our country, a national tradition of printing on cotton and satin and silk. As long as you don't draw dragons and phoenixes and that kind of stuff, all you have to do is adjust the design a little and you shall have something very pretty, very elegant, and tasteful. Nowadays the designers keep printing puppies and kittens on our cotton in imitation of Western designs; as a result, nobody likes to wear it, and it cannot compete on the international market either. We even lose money on some of the pottery made for export at Jingdezhen.

You have to be particularly cautious when painting the leadership, or you shall suffer defeat. Paintings of the Chairman must not be produced in a rough and slipshod way. (*Criticism voiced by Comrade Jiang Qing while looking at, and basically approving of, the painting Our Seas Turn Into Mulberry Fields produced at the Central Academy of Fine Arts:*) Still, too much detail creates problems too. The background is too complex. [In this painting] the Chairman's lower cheek-' bones look uncomfortable, and his right hand is not very well painted either. The person should stand out, and the background must not be too complex. (*Comrade Jiang Qing went on to look at an oil painting of Chairman Mao shaking hands with Comrade Hoxha.*) There is an unfortunate trend in what you do, which is not to give

prominence to the person and to clutter up the background. You don't appear serious. There are problems with everything from the ideological theme to the actual composition. Recently, I saw an excellent oil painting of Chairman Mao going to Anyuan that really succeeded in depicting the Chairman's air.

Once the issue of the political stand has been resolved, you still have to resolve the issue of craftsmanship. Essential techniques still have to be taught.

What about the future of sculpture? The Center has issued repeated; injunctions against the production of giant sculptures of the Chairman, because when they're that big, it is difficult to achieve a good semblance. Just to make a mess of it won't do. If things go wrong, there may even be international repercussions.

The Zhejiang Bureau of Culture has been spreading an awful lot of rumors about me, claiming it was I who asked for Fourth Son Calls on-His Mother to be performed. The old Central Propaganda Department and the old Ministry of Culture, as well as the old East-China Bureau, Peng Zhen, and Wang Fang, all spread rumors about me. Fourth Son Calls on His Mother was already being performed prior to my arrival. When I criticized it, they stopped, but once I had left, they began performing it again. I read reports in the paper, and in fact in 19611 did not even visit Hangzhou. It's all calumny and slander. Women impersonating men is a strange sixties phenomenon. I'm thoroughly disgusted with it! The Yue Opera Militant Youth is one big poisonous weed. The novel itself is already bad. Once the Youth & Vigor Yue Opera Troupe came to Huairentang to perform, and I thought this time for sure the performers would be men! But no, it was once more women impersonating men, and they were really ugly! The more I saw, the angrier I got, and I considered walking out. There was another play too that really upset me when I saw it, about a drunkard and a madwoman, implying that our new society is one of drunkards and madwomen. The story was set in Zhejiang, and therefore Zhejiang had produced this new historical play. Its name was Drunken Verdict. It is truly extraordinary that you here in Zhejiang should be performing old plays and ghost plays to such an extent. You even have ossified

corpses turning into ghosts and emerging from coffins. I certainly do not watch performances like that. I read about them in the paper. And then there is The Mother in the Nunnery, which was performed everywhere in different opera forms. (**Wenyuan:** *At the time it was euphemistically renamed Lineage Property Salvaged*.)

(*While being briefed on Hu Qiaomu's activities in Hangzhou:*) Hu Qiaomu together with Chen Bing had them perform Xin Wenbing. (**Wenyuan:** *Hu Qiaomu has visited Hangzhou a number of times*.) Every time I criticized him, he just would not listen. ... All of that was done by Zhou Yang and those people in order to prepare public opinion for a restoration of capitalism. (**Chen Boda**: *Right! Right! It's all in reparation for a restoration*.) (W*hile speaking of reforming opera forms:*) There is a problem with Zhejiang in that all of its old opera forms are problematic. The Shao-ing full ensemble has a solid martial arts foundation. Can the model operas be transplanted? Are there any old opera forms that can be utilized? First, one must determine what's right and what's wrong, and then act differently depending on the circumstances. (**Wenyuan:** *A little while ago Comrade Jiang Qing said that the eight model operas an be transplanted, [but] that transplanting is a very arduous task involving many changes.*)

The Yue Opera has to be reformed. The Yue Opera is bourgeois. In the past, people with money in Shanghai would have girls come to perform a selection of favorites for money. The music of the Yue opera is very low spirited. The opera form has to be reformed, and the plays have to be written. There should be men and women performing together, and the music has to be reformed. Right now, the octave range of the performers is too narrow.

Zhejiang is where Chiang Kai-shek used to have his old lair. (*When briefed about the crimes of the number one capitalist roader in Zhejiang, Jiang Hua, and how he had said, "I prefer capitalism that lets me eat my fill over socialism that leaves me starving," Jiang Qing marked angrily:*)Before Liberation, did your families have enough to eat? There is no such thing as socialism that lets you starve; only capitalism lets you starve!

One is allowed to make mistakes when making revolution. You must not be afraid of making mistakes and should engage in reform while engaged in practical work. (**Wenyuan:** *The Revolutionary Committee should talk about drawing up a concrete plan.*) There will be a disaster unless the schools are reformed. This applies to universities, middle schools, elementary schools, and arts schools, as well as all artistic and cultural institutions.

QUOTE FROM YAO WENYUAN ON INTELLECTUALS AND STUDENTS STRUGGLING AGAINST BOURGEOIS LINES (1968)

From P'ang Tsun-ssu, "Leadership of the Working Class Acknowledged," *Translations on Communist China* 52 (JPRS 47, 933; Washington DC: Joint Publications Research Service, 1969), 40

Three and one-half months is not long, but we have received a profound re-education. I deeply feel that the intellectuals in schools of higher learning are countless; the bourgeois tendency has its market here. The conflict of two classes, two roads and two lines are strong and complicated. Just as Yao Wenyuan said, "Under this kind of situation the students and intellectuals alone cannot accomplish the struggle-criticism-transformation and its series of missions on the education front. Workers and the PLA must participate. There must be the strong leadership of the working class."

EXCERPT FROM SPEECH (1970)

From: *Peking Review* (25 December 1970): 9–11

Ten years have elapsed since the founding of the glorious South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation. It is with great excitement that we people of the capital are today holding this grand rally in celebration of this historic occasion. We are particularly glad that the Delegation of the Central Committee of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation led by Head of the Delegation Dang Tran Thi has come to our country to join us in celebrating this brilliant festival, bringing with them the fraternal sentiments of the south Vietnamese people and the happy tidings of victory. On behalf of the Communist Party of China, the Chinese Government and people, I express the sincerest congratulations and highest respects to the heroic south Vietnamese people fighting at the forefront of the struggle against U.S. aggression.

Today, we are honoured by the presence of the Cambodian Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk and Mme. Sihanouk and Prime Minister of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia Samdech Penn Nouth and Mme. Penn Nouth. Also present at this rally are the heads of diplomatic missions of various countries and many other distinguished foreign guests. We express warm welcome to them.

Ten years ago, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation gloriously came into being amidst the revolutionary storms of the south Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism at a crucial moment when U.S. imperialism was stepping up its aggression against south Viet Nam. Holding high the great banner of the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, fully mobilizing the people, firmly relying on them and waging a people's war, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has pushed the south Vietnamese people's liberation struggle to a completely new historical stage and performed great illustrious deeds for the south Vietnamese people.

In the past ten years, the heroic south Vietnamese people under the staunch leadership of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, displaying the revolutionary spirit of "firm resolve to fight and win," have waged long arduous struggles against U.S. imperialism, the most ferocious imperialism of the world, and achieved one brilliant victory after another. Under the heavy blows of the south Vietnamese people, the dictatorial regime of the Ngo Dinh Diem clique, a faithful lackey of U.S. imperialism, collapsed; the so-called "special warfare" in which the United States supplies the money, guns and advisers and the south Vietnamese puppets the men has gone utterly bankrupt; in the past six years or so, the direct armed aggression by several hundred thousand U.S. troops has likewise. ended in ignominious failure. Through long arduous battles, the South Vietnamese People's Armed Forces are growing stronger daily, the liberated areas are being constantly consolidated, the political struggle of the people in the enemy-occupied areas against the U.S.-puppet rule is developing daily. The South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam have won increasingly broad international sympathy and support.

The ten years since the birth of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation are years in which the south Vietnamese people have fought bloody battles with courage and tenacity and years in which they have been advancing from victory to victory on the broad road of the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Resolutely following their great leader President Ho Chi Minh's teaching "all for a victorious fight against the U.S. aggressors," the heroic north Vietnamese people, fearing neither hardships nor sacrifices and carrying on production and battle at the same time, have waged unyielding struggles against U.S. imperialism and won brilliant victories. Although U.S. imperialism has carried out wanton bombings against north Viet Nam and resorted to all sorts of vicious means of destruction, socialist Democratic Republic of Viet Nam has always stood firm at the southeastern outpost in Asia and has become a staunch bulwark for the fight against U.S. imperialism.

The practice of the Vietnamese people's struggle provides an eloquent proof that the awakened revolutionary people are invincible and that so long as they dare to take up arms, persevere in struggle and constantly sum up experience in the struggle, they can grow from small and weak beginnings into large and strong forces and win the victory of the war against aggression. All seemingly powerful aggressors are paper tigers which can be defeated, no matter how many aircraft and guns and what kind of modern weapons they possess.

By their great victories in the war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, the Vietnamese people have not only smashed U.S. imperialism's plan for aggression and upset its counter-revolutionary global strategic plan, but also greatly pinned down and weakened its aggressive forces and spurred the American people's struggle against the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism, thus making tremendous contributions to the struggle of the people of the whole world against U.S. imperialism and setting a brilliant example for the oppressed nations and people in their struggle for liberation.

Since the beginning of this year, profound changes have taken place in the revolutionary situation in Indo-China. The Vietnamese people have repeatedly smashed the U.S.-puppet "pacification program," bringing to nought the Nixon government's scheme of 'Vietnamization." Persevering in battle and destroying the enemies valiantly, the patriotic Laotian army-men and people have further consolidated and expanded the liberated areas. The U.S. imperialist subversion and aggression against Cambodia have kindled the raging flames of the Cambodian people's war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. Under the wise leadership of Head of State Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the Cambodian people, fighting valiantly, have liberated two-thirds of their territory, dealing heavy blows at the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys the Lon Nol-Sirik Matak-Son Ngoc Thanh clique. Holding high the militant banner of the Summit Conference of the Indo-Chinese Peoples, the three peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, fighting shoulder to shoulder with one heart and one mind, have brought about an excellent situation

through battle. The various schemes of U.S. imperialism and its accomplices for sabotaging the Indo-Chinese people's struggle against U.S. imperialism have gone bankrupt one after another. U.S. imperialism is heavily besieged by the three peoples of Indo-China.

However, U.S. imperialism is not reconciled to its defeat and is conducting desperate struggles. Of late, the Nixon government has brazenly carried out barbarous raids and made outrageous war clamours against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; it has intensified its wanton bombings of the liberated areas in Laos; it has provided the Lon Nol traitorous clique with a huge sum of war funds and driven more south Vietnamese puppet troops to invade Cambodia, in a vain attempt to cow the Vietnamese people and all the three peoples of Indo-China. The Chinese people's great leader Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In the world of today, who actually fears whom? It is not the Vietnamese people, the Laotian people, the Cambodian people, the Palestinian people, the Arab people or the people of other countries who fear U.S. imperialism; it is U.S. imperialism which fears the people of the world. It becomes panic-stricken at the mere rustle of leaves in the wind." The war threats of the Nixon government, far from showing its strength, are simply an indication of its weakness and its fear of the three peoples of Indo-China. We are deeply convinced that the three peoples of Indo-China, united as one and persevering in protracted people's war, will certainly smash the military adventures of U.S. imperialism and win complete victory, in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

The present international situation is getting better and better. All the countries and people of the world that desire independence, liberation and revolution are rising one after another to oppose U.S. imperialism and all its lackeys. The national-liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the people's revolutionary struggles in North America, Europe and Oceania, and the struggles of people of different countries against the hegemony of the superpowers and for the defence of national independence and state sovereignty have converged into a mighty and irresistible revolutionary torrent.

Fiercely pounded by the revolutionary tide of the people of the world, U.S. imperialism is beset with troubles both at home and abroad and riddled with innumerable contradictions. In order to extricate itself from crises and seek a way out, the Nixon government has employed even more sinister and cunning counter-revolutionary tactics to suppress and sabotage the revolutionary struggle of the people of various countries. It is buying over traitors and plotting subversive schemes everywhere and is feverishly pushing its policy of "using Asians to fight Asians" and "using Africans to fight Africans," in a vain attempt to realize its wild design for world domination with the United States supplying the money and other people providing the cannon-fodder.

But such stuff of U.S. imperialism has been seen through by the people of the whole world. Committing aggression and making enemies for itself everywhere, it has met with even stronger resistance from the people of the whole world. On the Indo-China Peninsula, it is feverishly engaged in "Vietnamization" of its war of aggression against Viet Nam, in "Laotianization" of its war of aggression against Laos and in ''Cambodianization" of its war of aggression against Cambodia and, as a result, it is bogged down ever deeper in the Indo-China quagmire, all the more unable to extricate itself. It is stepping up its collusion with the reactionary Sato government in an attempt to push Japanese militarism to the fore for aggression in Asia, and has thus aroused the high vigilance and resolute opposition of the people of Japan, Korea and other Asian countries. It is giving energetic support to Israeli Zionism for aggression against the Arab countries and instigating the reactionary forces in Jordan to wantonly suppress the Palestinian guerrillas, thus causing the Palestinian and other Arab people to further strengthen their unity and wage still more resolute struggles. It supported the Portuguese colonialist authorities in dispatching large numbers of mercenaries to carry out piratical invasion of Guinea, but has met with head-on blows by the Guinean people and universal condemnation by the African people and the people of the whole world. Through the instrumentality of the United Nations, it has wantonly attempted to encroach upon the sovereignty

of Latin American countries and the right over their territorial sea, and has thus met with the resolute opposition of the peoples of Latin America. The facts show that all the counter-revolutionary acts of U.S. imperialism can only give rise to a new upsurge of the revolutionary struggles of the world's people. The much advertised "Nixon doctrine" of U.S. imperialism has gone bankrupt. It can be said with certainty that there is no panacea to save the U.S. aggressors from their doomed destruction.

The people of the world, uniting together, persevering in struggle and advancing wave upon wave, will surely defeat U.S. imperialism and all its lackeys. Victory certainly belongs to the peoples of the whole world who are fighting valiantly!

The Chinese and Vietnamese peoples are brothers and comrades-in-arms sharing weal and woe and going through thick and thin together. There exists a traditional militant friendship between our two peoples. Our friendship was formed in the long struggle against the common enemy and has been tested in violent storms; it is unbreakable. The great victories of the three peoples of Indo-China in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation constitute a tremendous encouragement and powerful support to the Chinese people. Following our great leader Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese people firmly support and assist the Vietnamese people in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation and firmly support and assist the three peoples of Indo-China in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The Vietnamese people are determined to fight to the end, and the Chinese people, on their part, are determined to support them to the end. This stand of ours is firm and unshakable.

Responding with actual deeds to the militant call issued in the December 13 Statement of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Government of the People's Republic of China, the Chinese people are now "grasping. revolution, promoting production and other work and preparedness against. war" and giving full play to the spirit of proletarian internationalism with the determination to make their greatest contributions in supporting and

assisting the Vietnamese people and all the three peoples of Indo-China in their war against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. The fraternal peoples of Viet Nam and all the three countries of Indo-China may rest assured that no matter what tempestuous storms may arise in the struggle ahead, the Chinese people will for ever stand on their side. Together we unite, together we fight and together we will win victory.

REMARK TO ZHOU ENLAI ON EQUALITY AND LIBERATION OF WOMEN (1971)

From: *Quotations from Premier Chou En-lai* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1971): 9 [Editors: Here Yen Wenyuan and Zhang Chunqiao both criticized Zhou Enlai for not taking into account the need for expanded representation of women to match that of men.]

Zhou: There are a lot of people who would like to go [to the U.S.]. Of course I believe that you will also welcome not only men, but also women. (*Laughter*.)

Yao Wen-yuan [member of Politburo]: And complete equality in numbers. I believe that the main thing should be the content.

Chou: It also would be a good thing to make it equal in numbers. But even though we are a socialist country, a country of the dictatorship of the proletariat, yet, still, male chauvinism comes up now and then. Of course, subconsciously.

Chang Ch'un-Ch'iao[82] [member of Politburo]: Today, seated here among the Chinese comrades, the number of men and women are not equal yet.

Chou: See, he's criticizing me. Yet I have tried my utmost to pay attention to the fact. I have paid relative attention to it. When I invited the comrades from Tsinghua University, I invited one man and one woman.

[82] Editors: Zhang Chunqiao.

SUMMARY OF THE FORUM ON THE REVOLUION IN EDUCATION IN SHANGHAI COLLEGES OF SCIENCE AND ENGINEERING (1972)

From: *Strive to Build a Socialist University of Science and Engineering* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1972), 38–69

[Editors: This was a dialogue that took place in which Yao Wenyuan interacted with several other figures.]

Yao Wen-yuan: Today we call a forum on the revolution in education in colleges of science and engineering to discuss two questions.

The first question. The Workers' and People's Liberation Army Men's Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Team at Tsinghua University has written a summary on the revolution in education. It sums up in a fairly comprehensive manner some of the team's experience in carrying out Chairman Mao's ideas on the proletarian revolution in education, and raises a number of policy questions. It centres on how to "take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers," how to run socialist colleges of science and engineering well. This material has not yet been finalized; please read it and give your views, tell us what you think about it. Have you any suggestions? Are there places that need changing? This is mainly what we want to discuss today.

Another question. Comrades present who are engag Another question. Comrades present who are engaging in the educational revolution in colleges of science and comrades from the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, will you please tell us how you have carried out Chairman Mao's proletarian line, principles and policies on the revolution in education. Especially after Chairman Mao called on us to take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, what experience have you gained and what have you learned in participating in the educational revolution, what problems do you want to bring up for discussion and study?

Everyone can see clearly that a tremendous upsurge has occurred in the socialist revolution and socialist construction as a result of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, the struggle-criticism-transformation movement (this work is not yet completed and has to be continued) and the unfolding of deep-going and sustained revolutionary mass criticism. The revolution in the superstructure has consolidated the dictatorship of the proletariat, strengthened the socialist economic base, aroused the initiative of the worker, peasant and other working masses, and promoted the socialist productive forces. On the other hand, the consolidation of the socialist economic base and the expansion of the productive forces are bound to spur the revolution in the superstructure, especially the revolution in culture, including the revolution in education. In this respect, the revolution in colleges of science and engineering is of vital importance. Signs of such a trend can be seen now. In 1968, Chairman Mao specially summed up the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant and issued a specific instruction on how to run colleges of science and engineering. That was nearly two years ago. How has this been carried out? We hope you will give your views in connection with this material.

Present here are comrades from the "May 7" Commune of Tungchi University and comrades from Futan, Chiaotung and other universities and colleges, as well as comrades from the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant. Comrade Wang Tseng-jung, a 1964 graduate from the machine-building department of Tsinghua University, came to the Machine Tools Plant in 1968. Now, who'll speak first?

Cheng Shih-yi (general Party branch secretary of the Tungchi University "May 7" Commune): I've read the Tsinghua University material and think it's an all-round summing-up, teaches us a great deal and provides us with much food for thought. Now let me talk about the problems we've met and the work we've done.

As regards the changing of teachers' thinking, the Tsinghua University material proposes to remould and use them at the same time. We have some experience in this respect too. We think it's better

to remould the teachers while using them, as this makes it easy to find out their problems and to help raise their understanding. For example, we started a worker-peasant class in building-construction the latter half of last year and assigned an associate professor to teach there. At first we thought we had done a pretty good job of criticizing him ideologically. We let him go with us to the building site and he acted fairly well. But as soon as he took a class it was the same old thing again. When lecturing on designing, he again started with how to sharpen pencils and how to use erasers. We criticized these old ways of his. He said he had already cut his teaching content a lot. We criticized him for not saying what he should and dwelling on what should be omitted. He lectured too much on details and wasted time. We helped him several times to see his mistakes and he improved considerably. Once, when there was a shortage of building bricks at the work-site, he and the workers devised many ways of using materials they picked up, of using stones to make blocks as substitutes for bricks. At the same time the blocks they made replaced wooden forms for pouring concrete beams and columns.

Chang Chun-chiao: How many teachers do you have now? Isn't it true that at the very beginning you weren't much inclined to use old teachers?

Kuo Pei-chang (teacher, Tungchi University "May 7" Commune general Party branch member): A group of teachers have come to our place; now, including political teachers, we have forty-five. Recently we ran a teachers study class to discuss how to draw up a teaching plan. In the course of the discussion, the teachers' old ideology revealed itself.

Cheng Shih-yi: When we discussed specific questions, teaching material and teaching plans, their ideological problems showed up. Comrades in the worker-peasant class were of the opinion that only by doing was it possible to grasp what they learned. Some of the old teachers tried to link theory with practice, but when they drew up a

teaching plan they wanted the students to study basic knowledge in the first year and do designing in the second. They argued that only after learning theory could a student learn to design. We consulted the students and they all held that theory must be linked with practice right from the first year, for them to really learn something. Some students were already working on designing but an old teacher didn't believe it. He gave individual tests to students in the worker-peasant class and asked one of them to draw a certain diagram on momentum, quite sure he couldn't do it. The student did it all right, but the old teacher said it was drawn backwards. However, after discussion by several teachers the diagram was found to be correct. This instance was a good lesson for the old teacher. It also made us realize that the teachers cannot be remoulded simply by participating in productive labour but must also take part in teaching. They must be used and remoulded in practice at the same time.

We undertook a project, a big workshop, teaching designing and theoretical knowledge side by side. In this way the students were willing to learn and they found it easy to grasp what they learned. They said this method accorded with the principle of "fewer but better." As the teachers lectured at the work-site, they were able to concentrate on key points. The experience proved that old conventions can be broken down only by linking theory with practice.

At first some teachers thought the workers had only practical experience but no theoretical knowledge, and said workers couldn't match them in classroom lecturing. But in fact, when we got to the work-site many theoretical questions which the teachers couldn't answer became clear as soon as the workers explained them. For example, when some students asked a teacher why one steel bar was laid in this way and another in that way, he couldn't explain. Then a worker explained it and all showed great admiration for him. The teacher said that in linking teaching with practice, he could not match the workers. Therefore, at the work-site the students liked to consult the workers, while in the classroom they consulted the teachers. This again made us realize that only when teachers are remoulded in

teaching practice can we discover their problems in thinking and in teaching.

There is another problem I want to mention here. We are teaching industrial enterprise building. Some of the worker-students we enrolled were not from the building trade and had no experience in construction. It was all right for them to study basic theories to start out, but they found it difficult to study higher mathematics and mechanics. Later we gave them a chance to practise so as to increase their perceptual knowledge. The teachers were afraid that this method was only to train apprentices, and the students might fail to attain the standards even of technical schools. After some practice, however, the teachers were reassured. They said the requirements set for the students could be met in a year and a half. In fact the requirements were overfulfilled in ten months. Therefore, we hold that the students should study theory, and that they must get practice, which raises their initiative in study and helps them-to learn quickly and apply what they learn.

As to teaching practice, we think the best way is to select a typical factory. It's fine to contract to design and build a factory all by ourselves, which provides us with an advanced, typical example for teaching and learning. But such an ideal project is not always available.

Yao Wen-yuan: You mean what's to be done if no such project can be selected?

Cheng Shih-yi: Yes, because of limitation in construction we sometimes fail to find one.

As for the system of schooling, the experience contained in the Tsinghua University material gives us great enlightenment. Apart from running classes for workers and peasants, we intend soon to run short-term training classes for workers.

Yao Wen-yuan: Is there still class struggle after workers and peasants are enrolled in colleges? Is it still necessary to put proletarian politics in command? Have you met this problem?

Cheng Shih-yi: We had not solved this question well as late as seven months after the classes began. We then realized the importance of grasping political education. When the classes started, the worker-students said they had come to seize power in the cultural field and to fill the gaps in science as a credit for Chairman Mao and the proletariat. But they neglected their own ideological remoulding after entering the college, thinking that they were "born red" and it was not necessary for them to remould their ideology since they belonged to the working class, came from productive labour and had practical experience, and that it was for them to re-educate the teachers. A student said: "Your (the teachers') ideological problems are different from ours." Later when we concentrated on ideological-political work, the students were doubtful, saying that they would be getting less professional knowledge. The situation took a turn for the better only after we criticized the theory of "the dying out of class struggle." The mental outlook of the students is now splendid.

Chang Chun-chiao: When were you first aware of this problem?

Cheng Shih-yi: The classes for workers and peasants had gone on for four months before we began to realize that we would not be fulfiiling the task entrusted to us by the proletarian headquarters if we did not grasp ideological-political work well. After that we grasped it.

Chang Chun-chiao: After all, what is the better way of enrolling students? What's the difference between the future enrolling of students by the universities and that under the old educational system? Who are to be enrolled, and how? What viewpoint should guide enrolment? The revolution in education does not concern schools alone. It is a social revolution. In enrolling students, what problems are likely to arise between the schools, factories and people's

communes, and the worker and peasant masses? What should be done after the students have been admitted to the colleges?

Hsu Ching-hsien: Enrollment is a very important question. When the worker-peasant classes run by the Tungchi University "May 7" Commune started enrolling, two different situations arose. In the first, the quotas for enrolling students were given to the factories and communes without mobilizing the masses to discuss the purpose of running such classes. The result was that some were unwilling to go to school. When a leading member of a certain unit refused to go, a younger comrade who was his friend volunteered, saying, "I'll go in your place." In the second situation, the enrolment work was done in a better way. The matter was first made known to the broad masses and they were asked to discuss it in order to form public opinion. Then the masses gave their comments, talked the matter over and recommended outstanding comrades to enroll. Before these comrades left, they were repeatedly encouraged to study well as true representatives of their class and not to forget their class origin. The comrades who entered the colleges in this way have higher revolutionary enthusiasm. Thus the question of what line to follow is also involved in enrolling students. The masses must be mobilized for it.

Cheng Shih-yi: We've summed up our work in this respect and been to some other places where we found they had the same problem. Students from urban areas have relatively more problems in their thinking.

Chang Chun-chiao: We have had lessons of failure. The Shanghai University of Science and Technology ran workers' classes in 1958, a two-year course. Some who had been outstanding workers had degenerated ideologically after the course. This experience must be summed up seriously for the benefit of running our present colleges.

Yao Wen-yuan: After workers and peasants are admitted, the question of with what world outlook to educate them tends to be neglected.

Cheng Shih-yi: I raise a last point. As regards the system, we think it's better for the departments in charge of construction work and educational institutions specializing in building to run schools jointly.

Yao Wen-yuan: At a meeting about a year ago comrades of the building bureau refused to do this, saying that the bureau was too busy to run a school. Actually, they can.

Cheng Shih-yi: But when we consulted the No. 2 Building Company they were very happy, and it's now being done.

Hsu Ching-hsien: The Tungchi University "May 7" Commune is now linked with a building company. It's easier this way to solve the question of selecting a typical project for teaching purposes, and also solve the question of getting worker-teachers.

Tai Miao-hsien (Tungchi University "May 7" Commune teacher specializing in underground construction): The experience of Tsinghua University which I read today is very instructive. Teaching material must be compiled in connection with the needs of industrial production. And it cannot be compiled once and for all. Its content has constantly to be enriched. Take the construction of tunnels. Formerly we had a little data; it was foreign and did not serve our purpose. The foreigners said building tunnels south of the Yangtse River would be like planting an iron rod into bean-curd. But facts have proved that tunnels can definitely be built south of the Yangtse.

Yao Wen-yuan: How about compiling teaching material now? Is it revised each time?

Tai Miao-hsien: After more than two years of practice, we're taking this tunnel project as typical, like "dissecting a sparrow," and linking

it with the branch of underground construction. We've made the first draft. We're planning to assign some comrades to build an underground power station, a thing the bourgeois academic "authorities" never dared to attempt. But we've written teaching material on all this. From practice, we're convinced that in writing new teaching material we must keep up with the situation in industrial production; otherwise we'll lag behind.

Both teachers and students must learn from the workers. First of all, get first-hand data, and with that we will have freedom; otherwise we'll be stuck in the old rut.

Yao Wen-yuan: This point is very important.

Tai Miao-hsien: After ten months of tempering in physical labour from April 1968 to early 1969, we started to write teaching material, but couldn't do it. We again went for more practice, working alongside the workers. It was only in the latter half of 1969 that we finished writing the bulk of it.

According to our summing-up of experience, the process of compiling new teaching material should be: with Mao Zedong Thought as guide, we must first learn from practice, accept re-education by the working class, remould our world outlook and acquire first-hand data. Then we must learn from books critically, making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China and weeding through the old to bring forth the new. We must also learn from society by summing up new inventions and creations in current industrial production. Only such teaching material can be fresh and original.

Chang Chun-chiao: It should be tested again in practice to see whether it can stand.

Cheng Shih-yi: In the past we had a group of about a dozen people to compile teaching material, but what they put out was absolutely useless.

Chang Yen-ming (student majoring in underground construction at the "May 7" Commune of Tungchi University): I'll cite an example. Earth pressure was originally set at eight tons per square metre. Now, it far exceeds that figure. This was learned from practice; our figure differed very much from what the old books said. It's therefore necessary for teaching material to be compiled in the course of practice.

Tai Miao-hsien: The struggle accompanying the compiling of teaching material is very complicated. There's no avoiding the fact that in the minds of both students and teachers the struggle between the two ideologies is very acute. The key problem is whether to combine theory with practice or to separate theory from practice. The process of this struggle is also a process of remoulding world outlook.

Now, on the question of ideological-political work, The world outlook of intellectuals often finds expression in their professional work, most conspicuously in separating politics from professional work. How are we to put proletarian politics in command of professional work and ensure that Mao Zedong Thought occupies the professional position? Here's an instance: the Shanghai No. 3 Steel Plant wanted to rebuild its No. 2 converter. We did the work together with the East China Construction Designing Institute, A young designer who craved showy Some students were quite satisfied with the teaching while others who had been in college asked for more advanced knowledge.

Li Chun-yi (a 1969 graduate of Chiaotung University and member of the practice team at the Hutung Shipyard): Ideological-political work is very important, and to neglect it is very dangerous. When we helped the Hutung Shipyard set up a workers' university, we felt at first that it was worker-students that had been selected to attend the university, and they must be politically reliable. Among the students were some who thought that they were "born red" and that their main task in the university was to acquire professional knowledge. When

they were told to study politics they said they might better learn it in the workshops. The teachers dared not criticize these things, thinking that they themselves had come merely to receive re-education; also, many of the worker-students were leading members and veteran workers. So some teachers would accept whatever the students said, right or wrong. Even the assistant head of the training class leading group dared not criticize, for he had an intellectual background and thought he was there solely for re-education. Some worker-students who had been in the factory for more than twenty years felt that their main task was to receive a general education, Some said: "You go ahead with the revolutionary mass criticism. I haven't even graduated from primary school. I've got to make up in two years all the courses in general knowledge I've missed in more than ten. How can I spare time for the revolutionary mass criticism?" Having discovered this problem, the leading comrades of the plant's Communist Party committee had a talk with us. They told the students the story of an orphan who, emancipated after the liberation, was sent by the government to study in a university. But he later looked down upon workers, buried himself in professional study, and finally degenerated. They also told the students the story of a second generation worker who took a literature and art course. He became infatuated with decadent music records and was finally pulled into the mud by bad people. These talks made quite an impression on the worker-students. The instances showed that students from among workers and peasants must also constantly raise their political consciousness in struggle. They must persist in putting proletarian politics in command.

Chang Chun-chiao: Did you criticize the old system of Chiaotung University?

Li Chun-yi: Yes, we did.

Chang Chun-chiao: What was your conclusion after criticizing the way things were done in the old Chiaotung University?

Cheng Chen-chi (teacher, member of the Standing Committee of the Revolutionary Committee and leading member of the educational revolution group of Chiaotung University): There was an old saying in Chiaotung University that it had high walls, a hard base and stiff requirements. During the Great Leap Forward, it enrolled a number of worker and peasant students, but some of them were forced to leave after a few days. Last year, we concentrated on criticizing the feudal, capitalist and revisionist system of the old Chiaotung University, but some of its toxic influence has remained to this day. We think that mass criticism in this connection should be conducted in factories too. Colleges of Science and engineering are closely linked with factories and the workers warmly support the revolution in education, but the leadership in some factories does not. For example, a machine tools plant set up a workers' college, but the leadership at the plant didn't pay attention to it, so it was hard going. In another workers' college run by a shipyard, things went quite smoothly because the leadership there gave it close attention. This shows that the revolution in education has social character. Schools and colleges alone cannot accomplish it; participation by other social forces, particularly factories, is necessary, or the revolution in education cannot develop very well.

One more question. The implementation of the "three-thirds system" (a third taking part in productive labour, a third in investigation and a third teaching and conducting scientific research) would somewhat tax our teaching staff. The teachers are already busy with scientific research, production and teaching. The "three-thirds system" would give them more to do.

Chang Chun-chiao: How many teachers have you?

Cheng Chen-chi: 1,300.

Yao Wen-yuan: How about your movements for purifying the class ranks and consolidating the Party?

Cheng Chen-chi: The masses say they're like lukewarm water.

Chang Chun-chiao: I have the same impression.

Cheng Chen-chi: The comrades engaged in the revolution in education are very dissatisfied. The leadership is somewhat inclined to play safe and does not "play the piano" well [*This expression, taken from Chairman Mao Zedong's article* "Methods of Work of Party Committees," *briefly means in good co-ordination.—Tr.*]. We hope the Municipal Revolutionary Committee leaders will go there to give a push and see how the situation can be changed.

Chang Chun-chiao: Can't you change it yourselves?

Cheng Chen-chi: Many big-character posters have been put up, but there hasn't been much change.

Chang Chun-chiao: Why not emancipate yourselves!

Cheng Chen-chi: Support from the leadership is also needed.

Yao Wen-yuan: Chiaotung University's equipment for scientific research is the best of all Shanghai's colleges.

Cheng Chen-chi: The question of our university's relationship with affiliated factories has not been settled satisfactorily.

Wang Chia-lin (cadre of the East China Chemical Engineering Institute and member of the antibiotics practice team): We think that colleges of science and engineering should establish direct contact with rural communes as well as with factories. This is requisite to the development of agriculture. In 1958 we undertook to make the insecticide "920," but the bourgeois academic "authorities" said it was of no value. We have now criticized this kind of thinking. We have persisted in serving agriculture and the poor and lower-middle

peasants, and built our bases in the rural areas. Through practice, we have come to understand that the poor and lower-middle peasants are a main force in scientific experiment. In the trial production of "920," for instance, we invited them to give lectures, and ran short-term training classes. To meet the demands of the poor and lower-middle peasants, we have begun producing 920," starting with indigenous methods and combining them with modern. This insecticide is in great demand throughout the country.

Yao Wen-yuan: Could a county produce it?

Wang Chia-lin: Yes, just like running small chemical fertilizer plants. Kiangsu, Kiangsi and Liaoning Provinces have sent people here to learn the technique and it's beginning to be popularized all over the country.

Chang Chun-chiao: There are still many difficulties. Its popularization is not easy even throughout Shanghai.

Wang Chia-lin: The poor and lower-middle peasants warmly welcome county- and commune-run "920" insecticide factories. With the poor and lower-middle peasants as the main force, a relatively long-term study class could be set up on the basis of popularization with the students enrolled from among poor and lower-middle peasants. This would provide a basis, and we could compile a set of new teaching material, and practise teaching in the course of designing the factory building, making and installing the equipment and putting out the product.

Yao Wen-yuan: Getting new teaching material and new specialties into shape through practice is a great creation in the proletarian revolution in education.

Wang Chia-lin: Doing this way, the poor and lower-middle peasants have given us a big ideological education. At one point some of our

comrades were in low spirits. They thought they were unlucky to have had a few years of college education; otherwise they would be members of workers' Mao Zedong Thought propaganda teams. After being re-educated by the poor and lower-middle peasants, they are no longer disheartened, because the poor and lower-middle peasants are so very eager to conduct scientific experiment.

Yao Wen-yuan: How many are there on your antibiotics practice team?

Wang Chia-lin: Forty-two.

Chang Chun-chiao: How about your contact with the Chemical Industry Bureau?

Wang Chia-lin: They aren't interested. They say we belong to a different department.

University-run factories integrated with social production constitute part of the state production set-up, but they need some leeway. At present we need help from the bureau. Our products are in demand. But as for raw material, very sorry, they won't give any.

Chang Chun-chiao: How about the pharmaceutical industry company under the Chemical Industry Bureau?

Wang Chia-lin: It won't help either. We hope the channel will be opened.

Yao Wen-yuan: To ensure success in the educational revolution, there must be a definite system governing the relations between the colleges and the departments concerned. Such a system is absolutely necessary.

Chen Hsun-liang (teacher of physics at Futan University, responsible member of the "April 1" Electronics Factory): The production of our university-run factory is included in the state plan.

We specialize in making electronic elements. We have 250 students and 150 teachers, staff members and workers, and produce mainly for several major projects.

Yao Wen-yuan: Have you fulfilled your task?

Chen Hsun-liang: We worked for a year without making much headway. Later we grasped class struggle and carried out mass criticism. Then even with less time for production we still fulfilled our task.

Yao Wen-yuan: That's right. We must grasp class struggle.

Chen Hsun-liang: At first some teachers were a bit gloomy. They didn't think there was much prospect in the university, so they were ready to pack up and leave when the tasks of struggle and criticism were over. Later the university set up factories and it was made clear to them whom to serve. That brought a tremendous change in the teachers' and students' mental outlook.

Yao Wen-yuan: It takes some revolutionary practice to get rid of passivity.

Chen Hsun-liang: Now the morale is quite good. Whenever we're assigned a project, we first prepare our people ideologically and politically, and hold political study classes. Then everyone's in high spirits.

Now the scientific research done by our university-run factory is also included in the state plan, and this has spurred several specialties under the department of physics. Before the Great Cultural Revolution we were not clear how to go about research in semiconductors. We spent a lot of money to buy foreign equipment but failed to produce anything. Now that we have set up our own factory, new techniques and new technological processes in society are readily reflected in our university; we have established ties with many

factories and are no longer so shut off from the outside world as we were. We meet workers every day. All this promotes our work of compiling new teaching material. We set up two teaching material compilation teams last December. They took the university-run factory as their base for investigation and study and also went to other factories. All of this has helped improve our teaching material, and our teaching, scientific research and production are combined with production outside the university.

Chu Hui-min (member of the workers' Mao Zedong Thought propaganda team in the department of physics at Futan University): Comrade Chen Hsun-liang touched on the question of university-run factories. Back in 1958, the revolutionary teachers and students of Futan University set up a number of university-run factories. The department of physics ran an electronics factory where Shanghai's first diode and triode were made. However, at that time the problem of what line to follow was not yet solved. A gust of cold wind blew from Liu Shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters and a capitalist-roader at Futan at the time, clamouring that the university should be run "according to regulations', closed down all the university-run factories at one stroke. Before the Great Cultural Revolution, a fifth-year student in the semi-conductor course had never seen a diode. Even last year we still heard such a remark as: "The university-run factory is like a bull bursting into a temple, just that absurd." We resolutely refuted that view and set up the "April 1" factory.

Hsu Hsueh-yi (student of the worker-peasant-soldier experimental class in micro-electronics, Futan University): Colleges of arts must carry out revolutionary mass criticism, and so must colleges of science and engineering. The state of affairs in our university convinced us that without mass criticism the remnant vicious influence of the revisionist line in education cannot be wiped out. Not long ago when Sang Wei-chuan was being criticized in the press, the teachers and students of science and engineering in our university paid little attention to it. Therefore I feel that unless mass

criticism is carried out, the revisionist way of doing things may return. A number of teachers who once went to factories to make investigations said on their return that there wasn't much to learn from the old workers. We sternly criticized this mistaken idea. Intellectuals making investigations and study in factories cannot produce good teaching material if they don't solve the problem of political stand. We therefore realize the necessity for colleges of science and engineering to carry out revolutionary mass criticism.

Chen Hsun-liang: Some time ago we enrolled a number of students from among workers of handicraft factories.

Chu Yung-chia: The university invited workers of handicraft factories to study and they went back to production after finishing their course. Then the university sent students to help them renovate their factories and check the result of their study through practice.

Chen Hsun-liang: The 1969 and 1970 graduates who went with the worker-students to the factories showed great enthusiasm and worked day and night. They returned to the university after the renovated factories had gone into production. They became' good friends with the workers, and now veteran workers often visit our university. When they run into difficulties we promptly send comrades to help.

Chu Yung-chia: These revolutionary teachers and students who are putting into practice Chairman Mao's thinking on the revolution in education have a fairly high political consciousness and are able to master technological processes in an all-round way.

Yao Wen-yuan: Imperialism and revisionism have made desperate efforts to spread rumours, saying that our colleges have not enrolled students for several years and that China's industrial-technical force is weak. In reality, as we have shattered the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, criticized the revisionist line, carried out on a broad scale Chairman

Mao's instructions such as "integration of the intellectuals with the masses of workers and peasants," "take the road of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant in training technicians from among the workers," and "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts," and launched the revolution in education, we have not only turned out products of advanced world standard, but also strengthened the entire technical force in the service of socialism. This is a revolution of far reaching significance. They say our technical force is insufficient, but in fact we have plenty!

Comrades from the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, you haven't spoken yet.

Chang Chun-chiao: People all want to take the road you've taken. How about your progress along the road?

Wang Shao-ting (Party branch secretary of the "July 21" Workers' College affiliated to the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, member of the plant Party committee, a worker-technician): The experience of Tsinghua University enlightens us very much and broadens our view. It makes an all-round summing-up on many questions.

On the question of consistently taking class struggle as the main subject, we have gained some experience. We started our college in 1968. Our students had been workers for more than twelve years on the average. At the beginning, there were some problems among the students too. What should we do? Leading comrades from the Municipal Revolutionary Committee came to our plant and talked about it. They pointed out that the class struggle in society would inevitably be reflected in the Machine Tools Plant as well as in the "July 21" Workers' College. We discussed the question for five days at a study class and made efforts to grasp class struggle.

The idea of "born red" was fairly common among the worker-students, They said that they were workers 'and had been chosen and sent to the college to study, and that their main task was to learn designing. They also had some old ideas and were influenced by the

revisionist line in education. We criticized this revisionist line in education. Our practice in struggle made us realize that for a factory to run a school, it is imperative to place proletarian politics in command, grasp ideological-political work and the study and practice of Chairman Mao's works, and apply Chairman Mao's thinking on the revolution in education. After studying Chairman Mao's instructions on this revolution we realized that it was necessary to practise and teach and learn at the same time—to learn warfare through warfare. Some students first thought that if they were to learn through practice they would go back to the workshop rather than attend the college. With this idea in view, we organized discussion to make clear for whom they had come to study, and after a period of practice the students understood the matter better. Their enthusiasm grew and they finally worked out designs for machine tools.

Recently we organized the mass activity of recalling past sufferings under domestic reactionary rule and imperialist aggression, and checking on ideology, study and style of work. This helped to deepen the students' class feelings and promote the teachers' re-education. Some members of the original teaching staff still have bourgeois ideas which, if not criticized, will influence the worker-students. The strengthening of ideological-political work helps to re-educate these teachers. In addition, we organized the worker-students to go to People's Liberation Army units and learn from the army men the revolutionary spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. This has brought about a great change in the mental outlook of the students.

Yao Wen-yuan: How many students are there?

Wang Shao-ting: Fifty-two. Our experience shows that if political-ideological work is neglected, it will be very difficult to carry out Chairman Mao's instructions on the revolution in education. With regard to the original teaching staff, we should use them and remould them ideologically at the same time.

Chang Chun-chiao: Where did you' get the teachers?

Wang Shao-ting: From the mechanical and electrical engineering institutes. Some of the teachers used to recite their teaching material quite fluently, but today they're at a loss when asked to apply Chairman Mao's dialectics to their teaching. The experience of Tsinghua University in remoulding the teachers' ideology while using them is good. Quite a number of teachers possess specialized skills. Let them join the worker-technicians in preparing lessons and their specialized skills will have full play.

Tsinghua University's experience in compiling teaching material is very instructive for us. Teaching material should be revolutionary, critical, pointed, and should have local colour. At first some teachers found it very difficult to compile teaching material; they felt they couldn't do it. We did much to encourage them. After the teaching material was written, by means of study classes, we clarified the orientation, put forward the requirements and helped them to correct. We made it clear that if there were errors, we should be criticized if criticism was in order, but that it was up to them to make the improvements. They were heartened and a draft of the teaching material was made, though it still fell far short of a high mark.

Yao Wen-yuan: "High marks" are not reached at one stroke.

Chang Chun-chiao: But from "lower" to "higher."

Wang Shao-ting: Moreover, leadership is also very important in running a college of science and engineering well. Leadership must be formed in struggle. Only with a staunch leading group can Chairman Mao's ideas be carried out. Only if it dares to practise and is good at summing up experience will it be able to blaze a trail where there was none. Even if the line is correct and the direction clear, implementation will fall off without a staunch leading group. Practice proves that every step forward in carrying out Chairman Mao's thinking on the educational revolution involves struggle. The leadership of our plant's

college was not strong enough at first. It has been strengthened since readjustments were made in struggle.

As to the period of schooling, it may range from one year for a specialized course on a single subject to at least two years for a regular science and engineering college course. Originally, we planned for two years but prepared for two and a half in consideration of possible twists and turns at the initial stage. As we see it now, it is desirable for the worker-students to have some schooling, or their study will be difficult. If they have little schooling and are on in years, there will be contradictions between teaching and learning, and neither speeding up nor slowing down will do. If they are fairly young, even with little schooling, they can make up.

Chang Chun-chiao: Can you run a spare-time school at the same time?

Wang Shao-ting: Our spare-time school has already enrolled a group of 65 students.

Chang Chun-chiao: Even if every college enrolls workers as students, the great majority of the workers will still be in factories and the question of raising their educational level remains.

Wang Shao-ting: But, at present some workshops of our plant think only of their own department and will not send their best workers to the school.

Chang Chun-chiao: I consulted with Comrade Chang Mei-hua last month, asking him to take the lead because he is the principal responsible member of the Party committee and the revolutionary committee of the plant, as well as a worker-engineer. He also wants to study, but there is no place for him. If Chang Mei-hua enters the spare-time school, a number of the best workers might follow him to study politics, military affairs, agricultural production, general knowledge and technology. After the spare-time school, the most outstanding

students might be sent to university. How to solve the problem of workers who want to study but have no place to go? As for workers with little schooling, they could be coached to a certain level, or specially study general knowledge and politics. There are too few students in your "July 21" College. You should put up big-character posters criticizing people who indulge in departmentalism. For they don't understand the workers' genuine desire to study and are short-sighted, closing their eyes to long-term interests. Of course, there are also some workers who do not want to continue studying. We should encourage them to go on, and to continue the revolution.

Wang Tseng-jung (fitter in No. 2 Workshop of the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, a 1964 graduate of the Tsinghua University machine-building department, assigned as post-graduate to work in the plant in 1968): I consider the experience of Tsinghua University very good, and am deeply moved by the comparison of the new Tsinghua with the old. I studied at Tsinghua for ten years, then came to the Machine Tools Plant in April 1968. I spent too much time studying, especially on basic courses. But I had to start all over again when I began work at the plant. In the old Tsinghua University, a capitalist-roader spouted the absurd view of "hunting guns vs. provisions," saying that the school gave the students "hunting guns" instead of "provisions." A "hunting gun" always provides the hunter with food while "provisions" soon run out.

Chang Chun-chiao: You will have nothing to eat even if you bring a "hunting gun" to Shanghai. What can you hunt in the streets where there's so much traffic?

Wang Tseng-jung: There are many problems that are very difficult to solve while studying at school, but once I got to the plant and started to work things became clear.

I've also got some idea how to serve the working class and integrate with the workers. Chairman Mao calls on us to plunge into the three great revolutionary movements—class struggle, the struggle

for production and scientific experiment. But the old Tsinghua said that fighters in these movements could also be nurtured in laboratories. How could students share the feelings of the working class? Since coming to the plant, I've discarded intellectual airs and taken workers as my teachers. At first I felt ill at ease and ashamed because I couldn't even assemble machine parts after ten years at university. Later, veteran workers taught me very patiently, explaining every motion, and I was deeply moved. In the work process, I discovered certain irrational rules and regulations. Why didn't the workers: say anything about them? They told me they had made suggestions long before but that the technicians paid no attention, saying the workers knew nothing. Now, after labour, I know that if I don't learn. from the working class and accept re-education by them, I won't accept their suggestions either.

After a period of labour, when I had made friends with the workers, I felt very happy. I have several veteran workers who are Party members as my teachers. One, who is now on a workers' Mao Zedong Thought propaganda team, shows much concern for me and often comes to see me. Since I've made friends with the workers, a change has taken place in my thinking, and this has been a big help in remoulding my world outlook. I try hard to solve problems the workers need solved, and this pleases them. Now I feel that so long as I drop my intellectual airs and learn from the workers, what I learned in college can still be used.

Chang Chun-chiao: Tsinghua has written a summary of their experience. Shanghai universities and colleges should also sum up theirs. Then we shall meet to exchange experience.

Publication of the Tsinghua summary should give great impetus to the educational revolution in universities and colleges throughout the country. We in Shanghai should strive to catch up.

Yao Wen-yuan: What impresses me most in your talks today is that in discussing the Tsinghua experience, all of you stress the necessity, in making educational revolution, of putting proletarian politics in

command and grasping class struggle, revolutionary mass criticism, ideological-political work and the implementation of policies; the necessity of mobilizing the masses fully and relying on the working class, the poor and lower-middle peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and other revolutionary social forces. Beginning with purifying the class ranks, consolidating and building the Party organizations and strengthening the leading group, to enrolment, teaching, teaching material compilation and the remoulding of the teaching staff, we must always hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and use Chairman Mao's thinking on educational revolution to guide, sum up and improve our practice. We must never lose sight of this in running colleges of science and engineering. While studying at college, the worker, peasant and soldier students' education on Chairman Mao's line, principles and policies on the revolution in education should be strengthened, and attention be paid to remoulding their world outlook. Thus they will be able to grasp Chairman Mao's thinking on the revolution in education, understand the historical experience of the struggle between the two lines in education, know their own tasks and take an active part in educational revolution. Only in this way can Chairman Mao's teaching that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour be really implemented and only thus can we bring up workers with both socialist consciousness and culture and proletarian intellectuals who integrate theory with practice. The comrades of Tungchi University and the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant have spoken on these questions.

What we have heard here today indicates that, compared with the situation a year ago, our experience is richer. The educational revolution in colleges of science and engineering has made great advance as a result of the comrades' endeavour. I hope that all comrades will firmly grasp this revolution and conscientiously sum up experience. You can deal with major or minor subjects, such as enrolment, political-ideological education, schools running factories, compiling new ° teaching material, teachers, leadership, etc. You may sum up any subject on which you have experience. There are some

questions with which we haven't much experience because we've just begun to deal with them, and there are some others which need further study. But that doesn't matter. Our experience will gradually increase with practice. It's the revolutionary people who blaze the path of revolution. As long as we advance persistently along Chairman Mao's line, we will surely run the socialist colleges of science and engineering well and win still greater victories in the proletarian revolution in education. Ours is a cause with a bright future.

EXCERPT FROM SPEECH IN ALBANIA (1974)

From: *Peking Review* (6 December 1974): 6–7

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan said in his speech: "In the fierce class struggle in the world arena, the Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, have fought resolutely against imperialism and_ social-imperialism and against modern revisionism, and supported the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and oppressed people of various countries. Unyielding in the face of imperialism and social-imperialism, the Albanian people have carried out a protracted and tit-for-tat struggle with dauntless heroism. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese people have infinite admiration for the revolutionary fighting spirit of the Albanian Party of Labour the people of Albania."

Referring to the current international situation, Yao Wen-yuan said: "An excellent situation prevails in the world today, The state of great disorder under heaven is developing in a direction favourable to the peoples of the world. The consciousness of the proletariat and people of all countries is further heightening and Marxist-Leninist political parties and organizations are growing stronger through revolutionary practice and the summing up of their experience. Peoples of the Third World as well as of the whole world are getting united on a broader scale in the struggle against superpower hegemonism. Meanwhile, U.S. imperialism and social-imperialism are beset with difficulties, finding the going very hard. The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are being bogged down in acute political and economic crises, and are in a plight which may well be described by the saying, 'Flowers fall off, do what one may'."

He pointed out: "One important feature of imperialism is its rivalry for hegemony. Today, the two superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, while taking Europe as their main arena, are locked in fierce contention in all parts of the world. What the two

superpowers have loudly advertised as ‘détente’ and ‘lasting peace’ is sheer deception used to cover up the tension resulting from their rivalry, and is breeding the danger of a new war. Peoples of the world must sharpen their vigilance, stand fully prepared, get further united and persist in their struggle. Hitler in his attempt to lord it over the world was in the end overthrown by the people. Today, when the world situation has taken a turn highly favourable to the peoples and revolution, imperialism and social-imperialism still seek to follow the old road of world hegemony and unleash a new world war. It can be said with certainty that they will come to an even more miserable end; tomorrow’s world belongs to the people.”

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan said in conclusion: “China and Albania are two socialist countries with close relations and their peoples are close brothers. Supporting and encouraging each other, the two Parties and peoples have forged close friendship and militant solidarity in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism and in socialist revolution and socialist construction. This friendship and solidarity is based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and is therefore indestructible. In the struggle to come, the Chinese people will remain united with the fraternal Albanian people and the proletariat and. labouring people of other countries and, guided by Marxism-Leninism, will march together with them to new victories!”

YAO WENYUAN ON ALBANIA (1974)

From: *Peking Review* (27 December 1974): 3

In his toast, Comrade Yao Wen-yuan said: "During its stay in Albania, the Chinese Party and Government Delegation was accorded a most warm welcome and extremely cordial reception wherever it went. We regard this kind of welcome and reception as a vivid embodiment of the profound proletarian internationalist friendship of the Albanian people for the Chinese people."

In a warm tribute, Comrade Yao Wen-yuan said: "The 30 years since the liberation of Albania are years in which the Albanian people have advanced in big strides along the road of socialism. They have waged victorious struggles and scored brilliant achievements on all fronts of revolution and construction under the leadership of the Albanian Party of Labour headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha."

He said: "Albania has incessantly smashed the subversive and disruptive activities by enemies at home and abroad, and consolidated the socialist system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Albania has continually advanced in the struggle against U.S. imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and modern revisionism, and her international prestige is constantly rising."

Comrade Yao Wen-yuan continued: "When we were in Albania, we held extremely cordial and friendly talks with Comrade Mehmet Shehu and other leading comrades of the Albanian Party and Government. and reached complete unanimity of views. This is a vivid manifestation of the great friendship and unbreakable unity forged by Comrade Enver Hoxha and Comrade Mao Zedong between our two Parties, countries and peoples. This friendship and up have been established in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and in the course of socialist revolution and so based on Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism: and it has stood a long test. The two Parties, two countries and two peoples of China and Albani will forever support and encourage each other and advance shoulder to shoulder."

ON THE SOCIAL BASIS OF THE LIN PIAO ANTI-PARTY CLIQUE (1975)

From: *On the Social Basis of the Lin Piao Anti-Party Clique* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1975)

Speaking of the necessity for a clear understanding of the question of the proletariat exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Chairman Mao has explicitly pointed out, "...if people like Lin Piao come to power, it will be quite easy for them to rig up the capitalist system. That is why we should do more reading of Marxist-Leninist works." This brings up a most important question: What is the class character of "people like Lin Piao?" What is the social basis that engendered the Lin Piao anti-Party clique? Beyond doubt a clear understanding of this question is essential for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevention of capitalist restoration, for firm implementation of the Party's basic line throughout the historical period of socialism and for the creation, step by step, of conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or arise anew.

As with all other revisionists and revisionist trends of thought, the appearance of Lin Piao and his revisionist line was no accident. Lin Piao and his sworn followers were extremely isolated in the whole Party and army and among the people of the entire country; but there exists a deep-rooted class basis in society that engendered this bunch of extremely isolated persons who styled themselves "heavenly horses flying through the skies," "solitary and free."

It is rather clear that the Lin Piao anti-Party—clique represented the interests of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes and the desire of the overthrown reactionaries to topple the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique opposed the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and nursed an inveterate hatred for the socialist system of dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, which they slandered as "feudal autocracy" and reviled as "the present-day Chin Shih Huang." They wanted to give the landlords, rich peasants,

counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists "genuine liberation politically and economically," i.e., both in politics and in economics they wanted to turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes and the socialist system into a capitalist one. As inner-Party agents of the bourgeoisie striving for restoration, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique reached the pitch of frenzy in their attacks on the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, going so far as to set up an organization of secret agents and plot a counterrevolutionary armed coup d'etat. Such frenzy demonstrates that reactionaries who have lost political power and the means of production will inevitably resort to every possible method to recapture the lost positions of the exploiting classes. We have seen how Lin Piao, after going bankrupt politically and ideologically, tried to "devour" the proletariat with the desperation of a gambler staking everything on a single last throw, and ended up betraying his country and fleeing to cast himself into the arms of the enemy; while the extremely patient education, waiting and efforts made to save him by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee could not in the least change his counter-revolutionary nature. All this demonstrates the life-and-death struggle, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, between the two major antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a struggle that will go on for a very long time. As long as the overthrown reactionary classes still exist, there will emerge within the Party (and in society) representatives of the bourgeoisie who turn their hopes for restoration into attempts at restoration. Therefore, we must heighten our vigilance and guard against and smash any and every plot by reactionaries both at home and abroad, and must on no account fall into complacency. But understanding of this fact does not exhaust the issue. Not only did the Lin Piao anti-Party clique represent the desire of the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes for a restoration; it also represented the desire of the newly engendered bourgeois elements in socialist 'society to usurp power. The clique had certain of the characteristics of these new bourgeois, to whose number some of its members belonged. And some of its slogans suited and reflected what was needed by the bourgeois

elements and those wishing to take the capitalist road—for the purpose of developing capitalism. It is this latter aspect that requires further analysis by us.

Chairman Mao has stated, "Lenin said that 'small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale.' They are also engendered among a part of the working class and of the Party membership. Both within the ranks of the proletariat and among the personnel of state and other organs there are people who take to the bourgeois style of life." Some persons in the Lin Piao anti-Party clique were themselves representatives of such a newly engendered bourgeoisie, of such newly engendered capitalism. Among them, Lin Li-kuo [Lin Piao's son] and his "small fleet" [code name for their secret agent organization] were in all respects anti-socialist bourgeois elements and counter-revolutionaries engendered in socialist society.

The existence of bourgeois influence, and of the influence of international imperialism and revisionism, constitutes the political and ideological source of the new bourgeois elements. And the existence of bourgeois right provides an important economic foundation for their emergence.

Lenin said, "...in the first phase of communist society (usually called socialism) 'bourgeois right' is not abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic revolution so far attained, i.e., only in respect of the means of production." "However, it continues to exist as far as its other part is concerned; it continues to exist in the capacity of regulator (determining factor) in the distribution of products and the allotment of labour among the members of society. The socialist principle: 'He who does not work, neither shall he eat,' is already realized; the other socialist principle: 'An equal amount of products for an equal amount of labour,' is also already realized. But this is not yet communism, and it does not yet abolish 'bourgeois right,' which gives to unequal individuals, in return for unequal (actually unequal) amounts of labour, equal amounts of products."

Chairman Mao tells us, "...China is a socialist country. Before liberation, she was much the same as a capitalist country. Even now she practises an eight-grade wage system, distribution according to work and exchange through money, and in all this differs very little from the old society. What is different is that the system of ownership has been changed." "Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted."

In socialist society, we still have two kinds of socialist ownership: ownership by the whole people and collective ownership. This determines our | practice of the commodity system at the present time. The analyses by Lenin and Chairman Mao both tell us that bourgeois right, which inevitably exists in distribution and exchange under the socialist system, should be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that in the long course of the socialist revolution the three major differences between workers and peasants, between town and country and between manual and mental labour will gradually be narrowed, as will the discrepancies between the various grades, and so that material and ideological conditions. will gradually be created for closing up all these gaps. If we do not act in this way, but instead call for the consolidation, extension and strengthening of bourgeois right and the partial inequality it entails, the inevitable result will be polarization, i.e., in the matter of distribution a small number of people will appropriate increasing amounts of commodities and money through some legal and many illegal ways; stimulated by "material incentives" of this kind, capitalist ideas of making a fortune and craving for personal fame and gain will spread unchecked; phenomena like the turning of public property into private property, speculation, graft and corruption, theft and bribery will increase; the capitalist principle of the exchange of commodities will make its way into political and even into Party life, undermining the socialist planned economy; acts of capitalist exploitation such as the conversion of commodities and money into capital, and labour power into a commodity, will occur; changes in the nature of the ownership

will take place in certain departments and units which follow the revisionist line; and instances of oppression and exploitation of the labouring people will arise again. As a result, a small number of new bourgeois elements and upstarts who have totally—betrayed the proletariat and the labouring people will emerge from among the Party members, workers, well-to-do peasants and personnel of state and other organs. As our worker-comrades have aptly put it, "If bourgeois right is not restricted, it will restrict the development of socialism and promote the growth of capitalism." When the economic strength of the bourgeoisie has grown to a certain extent, its agents will demand political rule, demand the overthrow of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist system, demand a complete changeover from socialist ownership, and openly restore and develop the capitalist system. Once in power, the new bourgeoisie will start with sanguinary suppression of the people and restoration of capitalism in the superstructure, including all spheres of ideology and culture; then they will conduct distribution to each according to how much or little capital and power he has, so that the principle of "to each according to his work" will become an empty shell, and the handful of new—bourgeois elements monopolizing the means of production will at the same time monopolize the power of distributing consumer goods and other products. Such is the process of restoration that has already occurred in the Soviet Union.

Many instances of how the Lin Piao anti-Party clique scrupled at nothing to amass riches, insatiably pursued the bourgeois way of life and used bourgeois right to do all kinds of sinister and ugly things not bearing the light of day have been exposed and subjected to criticism. Even more illustrative is their programme for a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat, Outline of "Project 571," in which the Lin Piao anti-Party clique made use precisely of the ideology of bourgeois right to abet or incite certain persons from different classes to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, the class interests represented by this programme, apart from those of the old bourgeoisie, are precisely the interests of a number of new bourgeois elements and the few people who want to use bourgeois right to

develop capitalism. This explains why their programme directed its attack against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and why it showed particular hatred for the restrictions placed on bourgeois right by, the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slandered the practice of office personnel going to May 7th cadre schools as "unemployment in disguise"; they vilified the simplification of administrative structures, and bringing them closer to the masses, as a blow at the cadres. They held that cadres should be overlords sitting on the backs of the people and hence considered them "unemployed" the minute—they took part in collective productive labour. All this was designed to incite a section of the office workers—those who wished to extend bourgeois right and be officials and overlords or those seriously infected with the bourgeois style of life—to oppose the Party's line and the socialist system.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique slanderously alleged that when intellectuals integrate themselves with the workers and peasants and go to the countryside, that is "reform through forced labour in another guise." Young people, full of vigour and imbued with communist consciousness, have been going, group after group, to the countryside. This is a great undertaking of far-reaching significance for narrowing the three major differences and restricting bourgeois right. All revolutionary people laud it with enthusiasm, but those corrupted by bourgeois ideology, and particularly those manacled by the ideology of bourgeois right, oppose it. Whether the integration of educated young people with the workers and peasants is persisted in or not has a direct bearing on whether the revolution in university education can be carried forward along the road blazed by the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant, i.e., the students not only come from among the workers and peasants but, after graduation, return to their midst. The Lin Piao anti-Party clique's special hatred for this practice laid bare not only its antagonism towards the labouring people, but also its use of bourgeois right to attack the Party, by inciting some of the people deeply influenced by the ideology of bourgeois right into opposing the socialist revolution. This clique's programme was aimed at widening

the gap between town and country and between manual and mental labour, and turning educated young people into a new elite stratum; through such means it sought to win the support of persons deeply influenced by the ideology of bourgeois right for its counter-revolutionary coup d'etat.

The Lin Piao anti-Party clique smeared as "subjection to exploitation in disguise" the communist spirit displayed by the working class in criticizing the "material incentives" of the revisionists. Lin Piao was a fanatical advocate of "material incentive." In his sinister notebook he wrote such revisionist trash as "material incentive is still necessary," "materialism—material incentive," "inducements: official posts, emoluments, favour." Moreover, a principal member of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique wrote that "the principle of 'to each according to his work' and of material benefit? was "the decisive motive force" in promoting production. On the surface, they advocated using money as an "incentive" for the workers; actually they wanted to widen without limit the differences in grade among the workers in order to cultivate and buy over a small section of the working class, turn it into a privileged stratum which would betray the proletarian dictatorship and the proletariat's interests, and thus split the unity of the working class. They tried to corrupt the workers with the bourgeois world outlook and to use the small number of workers deeply influenced by the ideology of bourgeois right as one of the forces supporting their opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Lin Piao clique attached "particular importance" to using "wages" to lure "young workers," and its "inducements: official posts, emoluments, favour" represented a sinister plot. All this shows us, by negative example, that young workers, and particularly those who have become cadres, must consciously reject the material inducements of the bourgeoisie and all the blandishments of the ideology of bourgeois right. They must maintain and bring into play the revolutionary communist spirit of valiant struggle for the 'complete emancipation of the proletariat and all humanity and strive to arm themselves with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook; and never must they allow themselves to be dazzled

and dizzied by the glittering world of commodities, exchange through money, vulgar flattery, sycophancy and factionalism, lest they should be deceived by political swindlers like Lin Piao or by the landlord and bourgeois elements in society. Under the cloak of "showing concern" for the young workers, these persons are actually putting out "incentives" to lure them onto the capitalist road, and hence can be termed political "abettors of crime." The inexperienced newly engendered bourgeois elements break the law openly while cunning old-time bourgeois elements direct them from behind the scenes—this is often observed in the class struggle in society today. In handling corrupted young people who have committed crimes we concentrate especially on hitting at their abettors behind the scenes. We must keep on with this policy. A number of young workers who take a clear-cut stand in the fight against bourgeois corruption have come to the fore in current struggles; to them we must give support, and we must sum up their experience gained in the struggle.

Moreover, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique alleged that the peasants "lack food and clothing," that "the living standards" of cadres in the armed forces "are deteriorating,' and that the Red Guards who—displayed the spirit of daring to think, speak, blaze the trail, act and make revolution in the criticism of the bourgeoisie during the great Cultural Revolution were "being hoodwinked and used." In all these vilifications, its aim was to totally negate the socialist system and the Party's mass line, negate the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, extend bourgeois right and restore capitalism. By spreading the slander that the peasants "lack food and clothing," it aimed at inciting the peasants to "eat up and divide everything" in order to undermine and liquidate the socialist collective economy. If things were done along this line, a small number of people would turn into the new bourgeoisie while the overwhelming majority would fall prey to capitalist exploitation. In short, the situation yearned for by the landlords, the rich peasants and the section of the well-to-do middle peasants taking the capitalist road in the countryside would come to pass.

By now we can see what Lin Piao's so-called "building of genuine socialism" amounted to. In reality it was the extension of bourgeois right under the signboard of socialism, aimed at enabling the new bourgeois elements and certain factions and groupings intent on going the capitalist road, in collusion with the overthrown landlord and capitalist classes, to "have everything under their command and everything at their disposal," to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism. Lin Piao and his like were their political representatives. The programme advanced by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique in Outline of "Project 571" did not drop from the skies, nor was it innate in the minds of those who described themselves as "super-geniuses"; it was a reflection of social being. To be exact, this clique, proceeding from its reactionary bourgeois stand, reflected the demands of the unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists—who account for only a few per cent of the population—and also the demand of the small number of new bourgeois elements and persons intent on utilizing bourgeois right to become new bourgeois elements. On the other hand, it opposed the demand of the revolutionary people, who make up more than 90 per cent of the population, for adherence to the socialist road. This clique used idealist apriorism to oppose the materialist theory of reflection; however, the materialist theory of reflection must be employed to explain how its counter-revolutionary ideology came into being.

Why would it be quite easy for people like Lin Piao to rig up the capitalist system if they come to power? Simply because in our socialist society classes and class struggle still exist, and so do the soil and conditions that engender capitalism. In order to gradually reduce this soil and these conditions all the way to their final elimination, we must persevere in the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Only through the firm and indomitable efforts of several generations can this task be accomplished by the vanguard of the proletariat guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. It requires that we adhere to the Party's basic line, enhance the political consciousness of the working class, consolidate the worker-peasant

alliance, unite all forces that can be united with, unite and lead the masses of revolutionary people to consciously remould their own world outlook in the fight against class enemies and in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment. It requires that we consolidate and extend socialist ownership by the whole people and socialist collective ownership by working people, prevent the restoration of the bourgeois right that has already been liquidated in the system of ownership, and continue to fulfil, gradually and over a fairly long period of time, the still unfulfilled part of the task of transformation of ownership; and with regard to the two other aspects of the relations of production, namely, the mutual relations between people and the relations of distribution, it requires that we restrict bourgeois right, criticize the ideology of bourgeois right and continually weaken the basis that engenders capitalism. It requires that we persevere in the revolution in the superstructure, deepen our criticism of revisionism and of the bourgeoisie and achieve the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie.

In his talks given during an inspection tour of 'various places in the country in August and September 1971, Chairman Mao said: "We have been singing *The Internationale* for 50 years, yet on 10 occasions certain people inside our Party tried to split it. As I see it, this may happen another 10, 20 or 30 times. You don't believe it? You may not believe it. Anyhow I do. Will there be no struggle when we get to communism? I just don't believe it. There will be struggles even then, but only between the new and the old, between what is correct and what is incorrect. Tens of thousands of years from now, what is wrong still won't get by, it won't stand up." Lenin said, "Yes, by overthrowing the landlords and bourgeoisie we cleared the way but we did not build the edifice of socialism. On the ground cleared of one bourgeois generation, new generations continually appear in history, as long as the ground gives rise to them, and it does give rise to any number of bourgeois. As for those who look at the victory over the capitalists in the way that the petty proprietors look at it—'they grabbed, let me have a go too'—indeed, every one of them is the

source of a new generation of bourgeois." Here Lenin discussed the protracted nature of class struggle in society; and Chairman Mao discusses the protracted nature of the two-line struggle which arises in the Party as a reflection of this class struggle. Through this class struggle, and this two-line struggle, we must continually defeat the bourgeoisie and its agents working for revisionism and for a split and engaging in intrigue and conspiracy; only thus can we gradually create the conditions in which it will be impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or arise anew, and finally achieve the abolition of classes. Such is the great cause we must work to accomplish during the entire historical period of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The new bourgeois elements who arise as a result of corrosion by bourgeois ideas and the existence of bourgeois right generally have the political traits of double-dealers and upstarts. In order to carry out capitalist activities under the dictatorship of the proletariat, they invariably display some sort of socialist signboard; and since the aim of their restorationist activities is not to seize back means of production of which they have been dispossessed but to grab hold of the means of production which they have never possessed, they are particularly greedy and anxious to swallow at one gulp the wealth belonging to the whole people or to the collective, and transfer it to their private ownership. Such were the political traits of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. "Exactly like the Chungshan wolf, most fierce when he attains his wish." These two lines from the novel The Dream of the Red Chamber, describing how one of its characters, Sun Shao-tsu, "changed amazingly according to circumstance"‘ and finally emerged as a vicious brute, just fit the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. Before Lin Piao was in a position to "attain his wish," that is, before he got hold of part of the political and economic power, he employed counterrevolutionary double-dealing tactics to cheat the Party and the masses, and misused the might of the mass movement for his own ends; to do this, he did not hesitate to put up a revolutionary signboard and shout—revolutionary slogans while at the same time distorting them. Analysing the inner world of Lin Piao and his gang, Chairman Mao wrote in a letter early in the great Cultural Revolution, "I guess

their real intention is to make use of a Chung Kuei to fight the ghosts." [Chung Kuei, a legendary character, was said to have the power to drive away ghosts.] This was straight to the point. They were making use of "a brick to knock open the door," after which they would no longer need it and would brutally get rid of it. Acting the counter-revolutionary double-dealers, opposing the red flag by waving red flags, "speaking nice things to your face but stabbing you in the back," or, by the confession of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique itself, "waving Chairman Mao's banner to strike at Chairman Mao's forces"—these are but different ways of describing the same way of acting. The moment the Lin Piao anti-Party clique thought, to use its members' own words, that "after several years of preparation, the ideological, organizational and military level has been raised considerably and an ideological and material foundation has been laid to a certain extent," it decided to act "most fiercely." In the units and departments it dominated and controlled, it turned socialist public ownership into private ownership by the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. More and more openly it exposed its political ambitions which were bound to grow the more it "attained its wish," just as the avarice of the bourgeoisie knows no bounds and grows with the accumulation of capital. In analysing the bourgeois, Marx said, "As capitalist, he is only capital personified. His soul is the soul of capital." Likewise, the soul of Lin Piao, a bourgeois agent inside the Party, was nothing but the soul of the bourgeoisie, both the old, toppled but dreaming of a come-back, and the new, coming into being and vainly attempting to rule. Through class analysis, the root cause of the perverse, counterrevolutionary political activities of Lin Piao and his gang is revealed quite clearly: In all their dirty actions—preaching the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, betraying the Party and the Chinese people, and going over to the side of social-imperialism—they were following in the footsteps of the Chinese comprador-bourgeoisie which had worshipped Confucius and betrayed the country; and the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat they so feverishly plotted was a mere repetition of the method the bourgeoisie of many countries has used innumerable times and employs to this day.

Our task is: on the one hand to gradually dig away the soil breeding the bourgeoisie and capitalism, and, on the other, to be able promptly to see through the new bourgeois like Lin Piao when they appear or are still emerging. That is why the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is so important. If we depart from the guidance of Marxism, we cannot accomplish this dual task; moreover, when a revisionist trend surfaces, we are likely to be taken in and even blindly board the pirate craft because of the ideology of bourgeois right in our own minds or because of lack of discernment. If this were not so, why did some people follow a revisionist line whenever it emerged? Why could Lin Piao and company deceive people at the Second Plenary Session of the Ninth Central Committee of the Party by resorting to idealism plus raising a hullabaloo. Why could those words of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, aimed so nakedly at splitting the Party and overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat, find a market among a small number of cadres? Why could the "fleets," big and small, openly resort to such methods as wining and dining, making presents and promising official posts and other favours as a means of luring people into their clique, and carrying out factional and conspiratorial activities? Why did they write into their sinister notes and actually employ as a tactic in their counter-revolutionary activities such trash as "using expertise to cover up politics'? There is a profound lesson here. In opposing the Peng Teh-huai anti-Party clique in 1959, Chairman Mao pointed out that "at present, the main danger is empiricism," and that, therefore, we should read and study conscientiously. In the past decade and more, Chairman Mao has recommended this many times. He has stressed that senior and intermediate Party cadres, and first of all the members of the Party Central Committee, "should all conscientiously read and study according to their different circumstances and have a good grasp of Marxism." He also stresses that "'in the next few years, special attention should be paid to the propagation of the Marxist-Leninist classics." After the collapse of the Lin Piao anti-Party clique, Chairman Mao said once more, "I formally advise comrades to do some reading." And recently he again stressed this when discussing

the dictatorship of the proletariat. How heartening these earnest and significant teachings are! All comrades in the Party, especially the high-ranking cadres, must grasp conscientious study and reading as a matter of cardinal importance in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. First of all, they must themselves study well and thoroughly understand the expositions by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and by Chairman Mao and their main works on the dictatorship of the proletariat, strive to explain the question by integrating theory with practice and rid themselves, both ideologically and in action, of the bourgeois ideas and styles of work which are divorced from the masses, so as to identify themselves with the masses, really become promoters of the new emerging socialist things and be good at discerning and daring to resist corrosion by capitalism. We must inherit and carry forward our Party's glorious tradition of plain living and arduous struggle which has been developed over the past decades. We must have a clear understanding of the situation and study policies, including economic policies. It is imperative to adhere to the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production and other work and preparedness against war, a principle which has proved effective in practice. Attention should be paid to distinguishing between the two different types of contradictions and dealing accurate and powerful blows at the very small number of bad elements; as regards the bourgeois influence among the masses, it should be eliminated by applying the formula "unity, criticism, unity"—mainly by such methods as studying and raising consciousness, supporting advanced things which are firmly opposed to capitalism, recalling past suffering and contrasting it with today's happiness as well as persuading and educating people and making criticism and self-criticism, all for the purpose of uniting 95 per cent of the cadres and of the masses. In criticizing capitalist tendencies, it is necessary to create public opinion, win aver the majority, awaken consciousness and give active guidance. As for the few who have sunk deep into the quagmire of capitalism, they must be told sharply: "Comrades, mend your ways right now!"

As was pointed out at the beginning of this article, the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was extremely isolated from the people of the whole country. In tracing its emergence to the class roots, we pointed to the soil and conditions which produced the Lin Piao anti-Party clique. After stating this aspect of the matter, we must also point out that the Lin Piao anti-Party clique was in essence very feeble; like all reactionaries, it was only a paper tiger. All the counter-revolutionary activities of this clique constituted only a record of defeat and impasse, not of victory. The socialist system is bound to replace the capitalist system and communism is bound to triumph throughout the world; this is an objective law independent of man's will. Since socialist society is born out of the old society, it **"is thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectuality, still stamped with the birth marks of the old society from whose womb it emerges."** This is not strange. The history of the past 25 years tells us that so long as we uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat, adhere to Chairman Mao's theory of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and keep to the line, principles and policies for the socialist revolution which Chairman Mao has laid down for us, we are able to smash the resistance put up by the class enemies, erase these birth marks step by step and continually win fresh victories. The present excellent situation marked by ever greater prosperity of our socialist cause is in sharp contrast to the situation of imperialism and social-imperialism which are disintegrating internally and beset with difficulties at home and abroad. Chairman Mao's latest instruction on the question of theory will certainly enable us, both in theory and in practice, to understand more fully the historical tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the ways to accomplish them; it will greatly help consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, deepen the socialist revolution, spur the development of socialist construction and promote nationwide stability and unity. The Communists of China are full of confidence, so are the proletariat and the revolutionary people of the country. United as one and in high spirits, they are waging a struggle under the leadership of the Party to combat and prevent revisionism. The history of the Chinese revolution is a history of the

revolutionary people advancing to victory through tortuous struggles and the reactionaries heading for destruction after repeated trials of strength. As Chairman Mao has summed it up:

> In China, after the emperor was overthrown in 1911, no reactionary was able to stay long in power. The longest was only twenty years (Chiang Kai-shek), but he was also toppled once the people rose in revolt. Chiang Kai-shek climbed to power by taking advantage of Sun Yat-sen's trust in him and by running the Whampoa Academy and gathering around him a big bunch of reactionaries. Practically the whole landlord class and bourgeoisie supported him when he turned against the Communist Party. Moreover, the Communist Party was inexperienced at the time. So, he gleefully gained temporary ascendancy. In those twenty years, however, he never achieved unification. There occurred the war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the wars between the Kuomintang and the various warlord cliques, the Sino-Japanese war and, finally, the four-year large-scale civil war, which sent him scampering to a cluster of islands. If the Rightists were to stage an anti-Communist coup d'etat in China, I am sure they would have no peace either and their rule would most probably be short-lived, because it would never be tolerated by the revolutionaries who represent the interests of the people constituting move than 90 per cent of the population. / The conclusion is still the two oft-repeated sentences: The future is bright; the road is tortuous.

Let us advance courageously in the direction and along the road pointed out by Chairman Mao!

A QUOTATION FROM YAO WENYUAN (1976)

From Charles Bettelheim, *The Great Leap Backward* (1976): 6. Document accessed on Bannedthought.net

Criticism of the Four serves, among other things, as a pretext for advocating stricter regulations. Already in 1976 Yao Wen-yuan had criticized the idea of increasingly severe regulations. He wrote: “How far are we to go in this severity? Are we to introduce the capitalist mode of production, which even keeps check on the time the workers spend when they go to the toilet?”